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Art. I. *General History of the World, from the earliest times, until the year 1831.* By Charles Von Rotteck, LL.D. Translated from the German, and continued to 1840. 4 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1842.

WE cannot sufficiently admire the spirit and enterprise of Messrs. Longman and Co., in bringing before the British public, from time to time, such works as the present. It is beautifully got up, and reflects almost equal honour upon its author, its translator, and its publishers. Professor Von Rotteck has distinguished himself by his lectures at Freiburg, in which university he fills an important chair. He is also an aulic counsellor, and a member of the chamber of deputies in the grand duchy of Baden. His *General History* has been pronounced by the best critics an ornament to modern times. In Germany alone, more than fifteen editions, and above one hundred thousand copies have been sold; nor can we doubt, but that from its intimate connexion with the principles upon which our institutions are all founded, it will meet with a reception in England, as flattering as that with which it has been greeted in the fatherland of its respected author. We shall probably be much less disposed than our continental friends to admire an occasional tone of expression with regard to the inspired monuments of antiquity, nor do we acquiesce altogether in his chronological system; but all must praise the skilfulness and ability with which enormous masses of material have been shaped and grouped into one magnificent panorama of events. The intellectual prospect, which we have here an opportunity of surveying, is at once comprehensive and particular. Facts are selected with care, and arranged upon principles of unity. The history of the world is

not merely mapped out, as in a large atlas, but it seems to assume vivid outlines and forms. A platform rises before us singularly real, and yet wonderfully varied; with its geographical framework of mountains, and frontiers, and countries; with its rivers, harbours, and cities, and their inhabitants, all alive and moving. We see government growing, and processes of civilization starting from their very commencement. Trade and commerce spring up and expand as we travel along. Opinions and principles are not forgotten. Men increase as rational and yet fallen creatures; pressing forward through the scenes of their probation, *ire pedes quocumque ferunt, quocumque per undas*; nor does the pictorial representation ever halt or flag. Lights and shadows, indeed, rather rapidly succeed each other; and the latter predominate over the former. Yet this also is consonant with truthfulness and accuracy, as those will be the earliest to admit, who know most of poor human nature. Barbarism, as the demon of darkness, has struggled hard to maintain that battle field, which extends from pole to pole. But the philosophy of history, as our author observes, converts all these sterile treasures of memory, whether cheering or otherwise, into nourishment for the head and heart. It has one single object, which is, to analyze and digest a faithful representation of the past. It teaches us, amongst other truths, how vastly more important are the changes of the earth, effected by the hand of man, than those produced by nature herself. We select the following passage, as conveying a fair idea of the style and mode in which the learned professor has illustrated his subject:—

‘Consider that land which has not been transformed by the hand of man. It is situated in a most happy climate, has numerous rivers, and a most beautiful vicissitude of hills and valleys. Its aspect, however, is sad: numberless plants are growing in confusion, but the useful are for the most part supplanted by those that are unuseful or noxious; painfully the foot forms a path through thorns and creeping plants, or wanders in the horrific darkness of impenetrable woods. Sometimes a steep rock, sometimes a foaming torrent, sometimes a dead morass arrests the steps of the traveller; cold mists veil the sun from his view; he is tortured by swarms of disgusting insects; and the cave in which he seeks for shelter, conceals the hostile beast of prey. The further we look, the more the terrors increase. Dry deserts that extend further than the eye can reach, alternate with barren rocks. Here you look in vain for a refreshing fountain; and there, the ground on which you stand is submerged by the overflowing of a river, or by the waves of the sea bursting their barrier.

‘And now, how has man transformed these same lands! A dismal wilderness is made a blooming garden. The wild confusion of savage vegetation no longer appears, but fields of grain extend over a wide surface. The summit of the mountain is adorned with a noble vege-

tation. Upon the naked rock, man has carried earth, has watered sandy deserts, and subjected poisonous marshes to the plough. The subdued wilderness he has filled with numberless habitations, and decorated with proud palaces. In vain, now, the river wars with its well-guarded banks, the foaming waves of the sea, repulsed by strong barriers, give back their ancient conquests. The earth is man's; he has searched out the most hidden corners. Everywhere you walk in unobstructed roads; no precipice, no torrent, impedes your steps. Man has built bridges over yawning deeps, made highways through threatening cliffs, compelled wild waters to flow in a gentle stream, and united them by canals; has united countries and parts of the earth by roads and connected seas. Finally, he has enriched one country by the productions of others; has conveyed plants and animals from their native soil to distant zones, and has improved and multiplied them; he has even imposed his land upon the temperature and climate. The icy plains have been thawed, the cold fogs have disappeared, the seasons have become milder. After the lapse of centuries, the same country is no longer known; Italy is found in Germany, and Germany in Sweden.'—Vol. i. pp. 8, 9.

After touching upon the changes in our species, and their various causes, as well as upon the object and utility of history in general, Professor Rotteck comes to what he very properly calls his method, or plan. He divides his subject into ancient, middle, and modern history; and then again subdivides these ages of the world, each into three subordinate periods, or phases. Thus, ancient history comprises the infancy, the power, and the destruction of the old world: mediæval history, the irruption, the dominion, and the removal of the barbarism of the middle centuries: modern history, the foundation, the continuance, the dissolution of the new system of states. Of these nine periods, the first extends from Adam to Cyrus; the second, from Cyrus to Augustus; the third, from Augustus to Theodosius the Great; the fourth, from the grand migration of nations to Charlemagne; the fifth, from the restoration of the western empire to the end of the crusades; the sixth, from the Popes at Avignon to Christopher Columbus; the seventh, from the discovery of America to the peace of Westphalia and the establishment of the new European confederacy; the eighth, from the Westphalia treaty to the French Revolution; and the ninth, from that event to our own days. Nothing, as it appears to us, can be better than this lucid arrangement; nor do we object to anything which is developed in its progress, except a certain cavalier treatment of chronology with regard to the centuries before Christ. After throwing the greatest doubt upon the success of all former attempts to construct anything like correct tables of time, he adopts the vulgar Hebrew dates as corrected by Dionysius Petavius, admitting that these, at all events, are full of errors, or about as

good as the corrupted text of Josephus. Here we are at issue with Dr. Rotteck; nor do we conceive that he has mended the matter by reckoning down to the accession of Augustus, always from the supposed creation of the world, just as the Jews do. 'If the date of an event,' he says, 'be taken from 3983 B.C., the year in which it occurred before Christ will be obtained. To reckon from the deluge affords little advantage, because then the numbers rise to thousands. From the birth of Christ, the more clear and fertile province of history extends back not quite one thousand years. The relief which results from this to the memory, is also afforded by reckoning from the creation, if the first three thousand years are imagined deducted, or if the attention or recollection are almost exclusively directed to the events and numbers occurring after the third thousand years—i.e., from 3000 to 3983; and then it is merely necessary to become familiar with the small circle of 983 years. By this means, the retrograde reckoning will also be avoided, which is troublesome and confusing, on account of its unnaturalness, which designates early events by large, and late events by small numbers.' Against these intimations, however, are to be set off early habits and predilections; nor do we at all concur with the professor in despairing about ancient chronology, for the arrangement of which, we venture to imagine that there exist the soundest materials in the world. The mere naked *numerical dates* of the Masoretic text we admit to be untenable, as they stand in the margin of our Bibles, which, our readers must well know, are copied from the monopolists of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, who have printed and published the holy volume for generations, *cum privilegio*, as the title-pages express it. In all these the chronological blunders are so extraordinary as to form a perfect opprobrium; to allude to no other instance than the anachronism of Abraham, the tenth in descent from Shem being born about forty-eight years before the confusion of tongues at Babel. Doctor Hales, and others, have surely settled these points to the full satisfaction of almost all scholars, whether protestant or catholic.

Since the subject, however, has not been recently touched upon in this journal, we will presume for a few moments upon the patience of our readers, and trouble them with some brief hints for forming a regular chronological system. Let the text of the inspired page, apart from all the glosses of marginal numbers, and as checked and corrected by the Samaritan Pentateuch, be the principal stem or backbone of the arrangement. With regard to the precise duration of the antediluvian period, nothing, in our humble judgment can be decided, which of itself seems to throw up an insurmountable objection to any reckoning but a retrogressive one from the fixed and accurately ascertained era of the

Nativity. From the creation to the flood, there are arguments of almost equal weight for the differing periods of 1556, or 1656, or even 2256 years; or 1307, or 1707. The longest of these is that of the Septuagint, with one or two palpable mistakes of transcription set right by the Alexandrine copy, and supported more than any other by various passages in the uninspired Jewish historian; but from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, the case materially and providentially alters. The Samaritan version informs us that the father of the faithful was born 942 years subsequent to the cataclysm, when Terah was seventy years old, who departed seventy-five years afterwards, at the age of 145, instead of 205, which is rendered, moreover, quite consistent with the then regularly diminishing scale of human life. This intervening space of nearly nine centuries and a half affords sufficient time for the development of all those historical phenomena, which the book of Genesis every now and then unveils, such as the establishment of populous kingdoms in Egypt and the East. The emigration of Abraham to Charran must have occurred 75 years later; whence, to the going down of Israel into Egypt was 215 years more; whilst another period of exactly similar duration elapsed before the Exodus; compare Gen. xii. 4; xxv. 20, 26; xlvii. 9; Gal. iii. 17; LXX.; Exod. xii. 40, 41. From the deluge, therefore, to the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, there are about fourteen centuries and a half, or, more accurately, 1447 years. From the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, in the fourth year of Solomon, the reigns of the Judges, according to the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and Josephus, give 621 years, demonstrating the correctness of St. Paul in Acts, xiii. 20, where he mentions 'about 450 years to Samuel the Prophet.' From the foundation of the Temple to its destruction, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and the eighteenth or nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, reckoning by the reigns of the kings of Judah, as checked also by the Chronicles, and allowing for the interregnum of eleven years between Amaziah and Uzziah, (2 Kings, xiv. 16—17; xv. 1,) would appear to have been 441 years; and as the Temple was destroyed 586-8 before the Christian era, the Exodus must have been about 1648 years before the Nativity. The emendation of 1 Kings, vi. 1, may be allowed as absolutely necessary, unless we mangle the entire book of Judges, and alter Acts, xiii. 20; but taking generally about thirty-one centuries and a half from the deluge to Jesus Christ, and bisecting them with the Exodus, fourteen centuries and a half after the former, and sixteen and a half before the latter, we obtain an accurate series of ages, which is singularly in accordance with the Assyrian, Egyptian, and even Chinese chronologies, when properly classed and corrected; and from which, ramifications may be carried out, in-

cluding the history of the Shepherd Kings, the Trojan, Oriental, and Grecian annals, Roman affairs, and those miscellaneous fragments of narrative which lie scattered up and down the obscurer regions of antiquity. Of course there are details in the above statement, which might branch off into dissertations and treatises; but our sole object in having adduced it, is just to remove one or two erroneous impressions, which we should be sorry to see left behind by the elaborate labours of Professor Rotteck, whose own mind also, we feel persuaded, is much too candid not to welcome with all fairness and kindness the animadversions of honest criticism. Neither will he expect us to approve of certain careless intimations, that Moses might perhaps have been more politic than sincere, or 'that it is *uncertain* whether his Hebrew traditions *are mere fables*, or relating to *real facts*—that is, to the true history of the tribe.'

We have greater pleasure in alluding to his masterly survey of Egypt and Central Asia. Assyria, Media, and Persia, pass before us, as the members of a vast procession, with the Phenicians and Carthaginians on their respective sea-coasts, preparing the way for navigation and social intercourse. Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with its picturesque king, Cræsus, and the Greek colonies along the Ionian shores, conduct us rapidly to Greece, with all her attractive associations. 'Here we see the great problem of free governments more efficaciously and fortunately solved than elsewhere in antiquity. Here, in fine, we see bloom the most beautiful and lasting flowers of civilization and science.' The whole country, including even the isles of the Archipelago, only comprehends about from nine to twelve thousand square miles; yet in this area, amounting hardly to a fifth of Germany, perhaps one hundred nations appear under what are termed kings, or in fact, just so many hordes under their caciques. Their national union leads us to their general history until the foundation of republics, the Argonautic expedition, the Theban war, the siege of Troy, the Achæan and Dorian contests. Professor Rotteck then follows out the various and fertile windings of the Mediterranean, from Eubœa and Crete to Cyprus and Rhodes, and even from the Palus Mæotis to the pillars of Hercules. Lacedæmon and its peculiar constitution are subjected to an unprejudiced examination, which pronounces the system of Lycurgus rather monstrous than excellent. He concedes to it, indeed, no slight share of merit, but fails not to point out how short it fell of the dignity and rights of man. The nominal freedom of ten thousand citizens, and the barely tolerable condition of above thirty thousand more, were erected upon the cruel slavery of the Helots, to the extent of perhaps a quarter of a million. It was an anticipation of the United States of America announcing their declaration of independence, with a whip in one hand, and an assertion of what

is viciously called the slave right in the other. But what did Sparta know of Christianity? Athens emancipated herself from both tyranny and aristocracy, under somewhat better auspices, although Solon incorporated the last with the forms of a pure democracy, that the result might prove a dominion of the will of the people, and not of the populace. 'Almost all which was great and good, that proceeded from Athens, may be considered as the fruit of Solon's laws; and whatever deformity and evil were generated there, seemed generally a deviation from their spirit.' The Etruscans and Latins now come upon the stage and diversify the scene. Romulus founds his state upon agriculture and war, followed by his kingly successors, whose existence and authenticity our author by no means impugns, after the example of Niebuhr and others. His account of Carthage is lively and interesting. The vivifying principle of that republic was evidently commerce; conquest served only for its protection and aggrandizement. Majorca and its satellites, Corsica and Sardinia, Malta, with many parts of Sicily and Spain, besides its colonies on the coast of Africa, as far as Senegal, the Canary Isles, Madeira, and Cornwall, if not Prussia in the north, were all portions of a widely-spread and sovereign commercial power. At the head of its government stood the two Suffetes, a Phœnician title identical with the Hebrew name of the Israelitish judges, compared by the Romans to their consuls, but by Aristotle to the Spartan kings. Their office was for life, but not hereditary. In fact, even the generals were elective: nor would Carthage have enjoyed that share of internal quiet which fell to her lot, had it not been obtained and watched over by the committee of a hundred, forming, like the celebrated Council of Ten at Venice, a conservative inquisition. Professor Rotteck seems to agree in the main with Professor Heeren, touching both the Carthaginians and Ethiopians; whilst contemporaneously with them, he notices the Celts, Scythians, Indians, and Chinese. He then takes up his second period from the foundation of the Persian empire to the overthrow of the Roman Republic. The countrymen of Homer and Romulus come forward more and more prominently for the promotion and extension of civilization. With the Romans, as with the Greeks, a beautiful climate, some degree of freedom, and strict limitations to sacerdotal power, concurred with the force of native genius to further intellectual cultivation; but the Romans never equalled their teachers, whilst the Greeks surpassed theirs. The causes of this are obvious enough. There was only one Rome—a metropolis on her seven hills, with conquered nations subsiding into submissive provinces at her feet. Greece was multiform, a collection of independent states, generally small, yet full of generous rivalry,

life, energy, enthusiasm, and activity. Rome was a city of war, —Athens a capital of the arts. Jupiter Tonans mythologically, but aptly, represented the one, just as Minerva, clad indeed in armour, yet waving her olive branch, did the other. Rome, after all, we repeat it, reigned through the sword and her *fulmina belli*: Greece more completely demonstrated that *knowledge is power*. The seven hundred triumphs of the former weighed lighter than the chaff of the summer threshing-floor against the language, poetry, eloquence, and taste of the latter. The Roman religion, too, such as it was, never ceased to be solely subservient to the state. It might be termed a cold prosaic superstition, when compared with that of Hellas; 'neither poets nor even priests had devised it, but statesmen only; and they arranged its dogmas and rites, and made it altogether a political machine. Hence it left the heart cold; to the imagination it gave no wings; to the arts, no inspiration.' Homer and Pindar, or Æschylus and Sophocles, as contrasted with Virgil and Horace, and the wretched tragedies of Seneca, or Aristophanes as paired off with Terence, we consider conclusive evidence on this point. When the sceptre of civil government dares to touch invisible things, it may exorcise forms out of the deep and dark unknown; but they will petrify into stone as soon as they appear, and remain monuments for mankind to mock at through future ages and generations. When the oracles of Herodotus are consulted, there is always interest, often real dignity, and sometimes a seriousness and solemnity suited to the occasion; whilst in Livy, the sublime gives way to the ridiculous; and a march is not made, or a battle is not fought, because, forsooth, the holy chickens happened to have no appetite for their breakfast. Rome, moreover, may be said to have rushed suddenly from rudeness into refinement; and just at the crisis when, by an unparalleled career of conquest, immense treasures and correspondent luxury were drawn into an over-crowded city more than half intoxicated by her fortunes. Hence, her ancient simplicity, instead of being exchanged for the Attic graces, became all at once, as it were, supplanted by Asiatic debauchery. The proud mistress of nations already arrayed herself in purple and scarlet, and avowed herself a mother of harlots, the sink of the abominations of the earth.

Each period, in the general survey of our author, is introduced by a summary of political events, and the history of their contemporaneous civilization. He then launches into as much of detail, in subsequent and successive sections, as his space will allow. Within twenty pages he portrays, or, at least, glances at, the contests of Greece against Darius and Xerxes; the peace of Cimon; the achievements of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides, which had preceded it; the splendid ascendancy of

Athens; the era of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war; the dazzling, yet disastrous career of Alcibiades, with the cruel culmination of Sparta over the political shipwreck of her rival. The tyranny of Lacedæmon then succeeds, with the new Persian struggle, down to the treaty of Antalcidas. The short-lived grandeur of Thebes, upborne by its twin heroes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, now blazes in, and quickly falls from the historical firmament, bright and transitory as a meteor. Her own intestinal discord and decay lay Greece prostrate under Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander the Great. The he-goat of a vision in Daniel smites the Medo-Persian ram, trampling him to death in the choler of his indignation, until death also turns the victor into dust, and divides his spoils amongst chieftains who devour one another. The Seleucidæ and Ptolemies, the Parthians and the Maccabees, the potentates of Macedonia and Asia Minor, just live and reign sufficiently long, and with sufficient weakness, to furnish food for Rome's ambition, as it works its blood-stained way from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Pontus and Euphrates. The six successors of Romulus have long been succeeded by stern consuls, severe dictators, profligate decemvirs, sanguinary military tribunes, and a few patriots. Democracy, by slow but sure degrees, lifts up its head amidst patrician execrations, until the Licinian Rogations more effectually humble the aristocracy than our own Reform Bill has as yet done. Plebeians at length obtained the right of being elected to all dignities; class interests crumbled into nothingness, as senates, knights, optimates, and confederates heard and felt the results of an announcement, that the *Plebiscita* should have the force of law *for the whole people*; whilst Etrurians and Samnites, Pyrrhus and Epirus, Sicily and Carthage, all in their turns afforded laurels and triumphs for the legions and their invincible commanders. The Punic, Macedonian, Cimbric, Mithridatic, Syrian, and Gallic wars attested the genuine maxims of Roman policy, which were, never to make peace until the enemy was conquered, and from each campaign to procure the means for further campaigns. Neither Hannibal, nor the king of Pontus, nor Viriathus, could arrest the Roman Bellona. The civil contests, the two triumvirates, the proscriptions, the fields of Pharsalia and Philippi, the battle of Actium, avenged the abuses of liberty, as well as the grievances of an invaded world. The despotism of the Cæsars might have melted into tears even the evil Genius, which, according to Plutarch, on more than one occasion, beckoned the last Brutus to his destiny. The Augustan and Flavian houses gave way to emperors, who for upwards of eighty years maintained that internal, yet superficial calm, under which tranquillity and order became stagnation and corruption;

whilst two thirds of the population were slaves; and those called free by courtesy remained at the mercy of arbitrary and tyrannical power. Freedom disappeared, as laws and lawyers multiplied. Knowledge became darkened, whilst schools and libraries increased. In one word, men ceased to think. Creative intellect will not thrive under the upas tree of autocracy. As the mind dwindled, vice luxuriated—the church of God itself by no means escaping the universal contagion. There can be no permanent self-respect, where conscience, person, and property know nothing practically of the rights which an omnipotent Dispenser has annexed to each as a birthright. The absence or deprivation of these leaves human life without that sunlight in the understanding, which refines while it exalts, and which purifies whilst it enlarges the soul. As a means of happiness and civilization, intelligence must be generally diffused throughout the masses, or otherwise priests and impostors will become sole schoolmasters. Knowledge, indeed, without religion, as we are well aware, can merely puff up and lead astray; but then religion without knowledge, quickly becomes overcast, like the night of the middle ages. God has set everything in its proper place. Learning, cut off from liberty, beheld the taste of an Augustan era degenerate into feebleness and absurdity. Not the improvement of the mind, nor the real advancement of science, was now the business of literature. Philosophers, poets, and historians, had their places occupied by grammarians, critics, and commentators. From Commodus to Theodosius the Great, and the fall of the western empire; and even thence, for another thousand years, seems a long, long Bochim—a valley of the shadow of death—through which the stream of time flows darkly and hurriedly, until it emerges upon the invention of printing, the discovery of America, and the awakening glories of the Reformation.

Yet modern civilization is not to disavow its obligations to ancient freedom, and the master spirits of three-and-twenty centuries ago. As an illustration of this, our author thus eloquently gloats over the plains of Marathon, looking downward even to our own days for some of the mighty results associated with the victory of Miltiades:—

‘ We have already explained the principal, as well as more immediate causes of the great war between Greece and Persia. This war is, in itself, and in its consequences, of the highest interest, and is conspicuous amongst the great events which have happened in the world. Had the Persians been victorious, the flower of Grecian civilization would have been crushed in its first expansion, and the vast empire of Persia would have become either the theatre of constant barbarian tumult, or if it arose to eminence, a western China! Then no Phidias

and no Praxiteles would have animated the marble—no Pindar would have charmed with his lofty song—no Euripides would have drawn sweet tears—no Herodotus, no Xenophon, would have proclaimed with far-sounding voices, great achievements—no Plato, no Aristotle would have discovered treasures of wisdom—no Socrates, no Epaminondas, would have shone with exalted virtue. The most beautiful types of a free constitution would have vanished from the world before they had borne fruit; and the savage Roman, had he not been oppressed by the Persian power, would not have been softened by the song of the muses. He might have been able, perhaps, to conquer the earth, but not to civilize it; and it might then have been that a friendly fate [Providence] would have effected this miracle in an entirely different way, yet much later; even modern civilization, *which is connected so intimately with the ancient*, notwithstanding the night lying between, would not have risen. It was of so much importance, that at Marathon, at Plataea, and at Salamis, freedom should triumph. But had there been no Persian war, common danger would not have compelled the Greeks to unite, awakened enthusiasm and proud consciousness of power among them, and developed every talent; then they would not have performed their greatest actions, and slowly, perhaps never, would they have filled that career of glory which was now opened to them.—Vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

Thus it is, then, that all great events are links of one vast chain connecting the whole human family with the throne of Divine Providence. There exist no such things as absolutely insulated affairs. The third period having been dismissed, from Augustus to Theodosius, the fourth includes the grand migration of nations down to Charlemagne. As this revolution was accelerated and completed by impulses from Asia upon Europe, by the Hunnic stream bursting generally and impetuously over the Roman empire, the professor summons our attention to ‘that mysterious steppe, whence the inexhaustible fountains spring, of a tide which desolates countries and revolutionizes the world.’ The high table-lands, lying at an equal distance from the Indian and Northern Seas, whence flow the Oxus and Jaxartes, the Oby, the Irtysh, the Jenisey, the Hoangho and Yansékian of China, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Burrampooter, with others almost equally enormous, but too numerous to mention, comprise two districts, termed respectively the Mustag or Tartary, and the Altai or Mongolia. The empire of the Hiongnu, extended for thirteen hundred years before Christ over the greatest portion of High Asia, came to its termination about the time that the last of the twelve Cæsars was succeeded by Nerva at Rome. Their boldest and most refractory tribes thenceforward began to move westward, pitching their tents wherever they could find pasturage or game, gradually surmounting the Imaus, and at length settling between the Jaick and Wolga. Crossing the

latter of these streams towards the close of the fourth century, they fell upon the Alani and Goths, who in their turn, being thus borne forward by wave after wave of invaders, passed the Danube, and commenced the second principal scene in the migration of nations. From this epoch it is, that one barbarian leader after another sweeps in gory triumph across the historic stage; Alaric and his Visigoths, Odoacer and his Heruli, Attila and the Huns, Genseric and the Vandals, Theodoric and the Ostrogoths, Clovis and the Franks, besides the Suevi, Vendi, Slavi, Lombards, and Anglo-Saxons. Now comes forward the feudal system with its brazen horrors. The constitution and laws of the Germans, as compared with Justinian and his civil code, present us with simplicity and rudeness, with the pride of freedom and conquest somewhat seasoned by glimmerings of common sense, as opposed to sophistication and refinement, the freaks of despotism, and a few beautiful vestiges of the law of nature. The Gauls and Italy grew more and more estranged from Constantinople; but meanwhile, Mohammed sets fire to the enthusiasm of Arabia, and enterprising caliphs found mosques and palaces at Cufa, Damascus, and Bagdat. Doctor Rotteck, according to our humble judgment, passes far too favourable an estimate upon the impostor of Mecca and his Koran. He considers the latter as bearing the impress of original genius, 'containing great ideas, eternal truths, elevating reflections;' and 'it is evident' to transcribe his strong assertions, from which, however, we venture to differ most decidedly, that the

'Mohammedan religion is far superior to all others, with the exception of the Christian, in intrinsic worth; for those parts of it, which are not universally true or good, are adapted at least to some useful purpose, either climatic or national; or by the pure oriental spirit, which they breathe, are strongly recommended to the nations of the east. Accordingly it filled the native proselytes immediately with the most animated, even with fanatical zeal, and as soon as the first opposition, which might have crushed it in the cradle, was successfully overcome, it spread as a flood of fire amongst the tribes of Arabia. When these were once united under the standard of the prophet, arguments and hatred were mute before the victorious sword. From the political condition of the world, the Saracens were sure of victory.'—Vol. ii. pp. 127, 128.

He nevertheless admits, as all candid observers must do, that Islamism deeply injured the interests of the human race. As far as its dominion and settlements extended throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, it threw up more strongly than had existed before, the barriers of the world, the flesh, and the devil, against the progress of the gospel. Whatever it had borrowed from the

corruptions of Christianity it metamorphosed into potent auxiliaries for establishing and enlarging the kingdom of Satan. Turcomans, Tartars, and Turks, enlisted with avidity under banners, which allured them forward to power here, and paradise hereafter, through the gratification of their vilest passions. Charles Martel, or the Hammer, rendered good service to his species, when, as an instrument in the hands of the Almighty, he broke in pieces the chivalry of the Crescent at Tours, and laid a foundation for the restoration of the Western empire, under the auspices of his descendant, Charlemagne.

The apparition of this potentate ushers in the fifth period of general history, reaching down to the close of the Crusades. He reigned from the North Sea to Lower Italy, and from the Ebro to the Vistula and the Theiss. He consolidated the feudal pretensions of an already rampant aristocracy, as well as the primacy of the Roman pope, which had gradually risen over the graves of the apostles, in proud yet solemn majesty. Monachism also grew up as something like an asylum from feudalism. The cloister, with all its superstition and gloom, conferred more good upon mankind than the castle of the noble. Ecclesiastical industry created farms out of many a desert; whilst baronial fortalices frowned, after the fashion of pesthouses, amidst the wildernesses which lordly tyranny and violences had cursed with perpetual barrenness. There, too, the nobler harvests of art and science, such as they then were, might be reaped, in an approximation to security. In the convents the muses enjoyed their only refuge, though that proved a miserable one, during the tumult of arms in the middle ages. 'Many orders have made the sciences the principal object of their efforts; and their collections, their institutions, their elaborate works, have often produced precious fruits, however unacceptable to their founders. Even missionaries, who went mostly from cloisters, have rendered immense service to geography, anthropology, and indeed to most branches of knowledge; and the truly beneficent and humane objects of others, such as the care of the sick and the liberation of captives, have given them the highest claim to gratitude and veneration. Finally, many particular monks have been most gloriously distinguished by virtue, true piety, talents, and zeal for the welfare of their species.' All this is quite true; and it was because monkery presented itself in this light, that it received favour from the Carolingians and Hohenstaufens. The relations, about the same period, between the emperors and the popes, formed a principal basis for political changes in Italy; and Italy, in these times, with her pontiffs, her rich commercial states and cities, and her ancient associations, formed a main feature in all occidental civilization. Polygarchy gained ground in Ger-

many; hereditary monarchy in France; the Danes and Normans in England; whilst these last also conquered Sicily and Naples, and attacked the Byzantine empire. Spain was a world by itself—a sort of microcosm—in which the contest between Mohammedanism and nominal Christianity went forward upon a small scale; yet with sympathies and results precisely analogous to those which must ultimately occur, when orientalism shall have become Europeanized! Russia, beginning to emerge, under the family of Rurik, from downright savagery, was plunged back again into it by the sword of the Mongols. Bohemians, Moravians, and above all the Hungarians, rushed like avalanches upon countries too weak to ward off calamities, even had they been able to foresee and to prepare for them. But, in fact, foresight and preparation were unknown. Few besides churchmen had either eyes or ears. Constantinople had to engage with the Bulgarians, the Comans, the Seljukians, and the Chazars. The caliphate itself had become languid; but the Gaznevites, the Fatimites, the Atabeks, the Mamelukes, and Zenghis Khan, more than equal to all these put together, scourged the surface of the earth, rather like wild beasts than men. The crusades, however, presented the most marvellous spectacle. A religious idea awoke Christendom from torpor and political somnambulism. ‘The only enterprise in which all the nations of Europe have ever united, and which they have pursued with equal perseverance and zeal, thus served merely for a striking monument of human folly.’ Yet no sooner had the cataract of superstition worn itself down, than consequences appeared which neither Peter the Hermit nor his wicked imitators had ever predicted. The current of human affairs getting less madly turbulent and precipitous, commerce, freedom, and civil order, could pursue their voyage with better success upon its surface. Chivalry had neither destroyed selfishness, nor subdued the passions. The nature of our species, nevertheless, which can only be *altered for the best* by the converting influences of the gospel of Christ, lies open to many beneficial and interesting external modifications; and we agree with Professor Rotteck, that ‘much of refinement in the tone of society, much of the delicacy in friendship and love, the sacred observance of the word of honour, even amongst those who deride the duties of morality, and principally the traits of humanity and generosity, which mitigate sometimes the destructive fury of war—the horrors of the battle-field—are indeed mostly legacies or echoes from the age of chivalry.’ National intercourse now vastly augmented. Baronial barbarism had gazed itself half-blind in looking and pondering upon the luxuriance and splendours, which could be witnessed alone upon the banks of the Nile and the Bosphorus. Its ancient prejudices,

therefore, against merchants and mariners, underwent considerable change. Money, moreover, had to be raised for each successive expedition; none but cities and towns, and their inhabitants, possessed this talisman in any abundance; nor would they part with it, unless feudalism would relax its grasp upon society, and sell invaluable privileges at a very low price. Freedom and trade thus waxed stronger every day. Palestine was indeed slowly gained, rapidly lost, and never recovered; but burgher classes were overreaching their lords and sovereigns. Corporations soon demanded, and finally secured, many of the dearest rights attached to person and property. Even knowledge lifted up her head, behind stone ramparts, or under the shadow of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalfi, and Salerno. The Arabians in Spain translated the works of the old Greeks and Romans. Some branches of mathematics and natural sciences enjoyed friendly encouragement. Chemistry and medicine put forth occasional shoots of vigour, although choked by the follies of alchemy and astrology. Aristotle waved a sceptre over the mind, more potent than that of his pupil Alexander over the world. Jurisprudence flourished at Bologna; philosophy and theology at Paris and Oxford. Deep ignorance and serfdom might still be, as they doubtless were, the cruel portion of the million; yet the character of Alfred the Great, the struggle about investitures, the valour of the Saxon emperors, the combinations of cities in Upper Italy, the dissensions of Islamism, the augmentation of wealth, the deep thoughts of single individuals who were enabled to leave certain impressions of truth behind them, which neither despotism nor superstition could altogether extinguish, shone out like stars, or the illuminations of the aurora borealis, throughout the midnight of this melancholy period.

Then follows the sixth division of our author, on the removal of the barbarism of the mediæval centuries; from the last crusade to the discovery of America. Feudalism and hierarchy undermined their own power by grossly abusing it. Important changes in the interior of society engendered the seeds of mighty revolutions in external policy. Middle classes were girding up their loins to the gigantic task of commercial, civil, and mental emancipation. Crowns began to feel, and lay to heart, various intolerable insults received from the coronet and the crosier. The genius of the papacy quailed, from the moment that Boniface was arrested by the fierce hands of a layman; and the tiara developed its iniquities at Avignon, rather than at Rome. France and England got familiarized to a monster, which, whilst they continued to coax, they ceased to fear. The secrets of ecclesiastical mummary took wind, and neutralized the influence of its enchantments. It was like acting some deep tragedy of corrup-

tion under the broad face of day ; instead of calling candlelight, with all the other deceptions of a theatre, to support the requisite effect. The papal court also, when once located in the Valaisin, dwindled into a puppet to the house of Valois, as opposed to the pretensions of our own Edward the Third and his successors ; which, of course, very naturally contributed to alienate the English, and render them willing listeners to Wykliffe. Antipopes too, before the close of the fourteenth century, thundered out reciprocal anathemas against each other. Christendom felt scandalized, and yet delighted ; for though the thoughtful might deplore the growth of blasphemy and impiety, multitudes had some vague undefined conceptions, that a grand conjuration was losing its charm ; and that matters must yet be worse, that soon afterwards they might be better. Switzerland had unfurled her banners of liberty against the pride and prowess of Austria ; and even at Rome, Rienzi dared to proclaim himself tribune ! France beheld her sovereigns gradually absorbing the great fiefs, and introducing standing armies. The Moors were cast out of Spain ; where Ferdinand and Isabella were preparing a platform for the ambitious designs of their grandson, Charles the Fifth. Portugal quickly culminated into vast prosperity and opulence, opening fresh paths for navigation and commerce. Yet the smaller states in general were falling into the sphere of action, if not into the positive possession of the larger ones. Even in the north, for her single reign, the heroic Margaret achieved the union of Calmar, which made her the undisputed queen of the Baltic shores. Poland was at this period more powerful than Russia. Bohemia shone out under her sovereigns of Luxembourg ; although presently doomed to witness the horrors and devastations of the Hussite war. Hungary enjoyed good fortune and glory under its native prince Mathias Corvinus ; whilst the Anjevines wasted away, in obscurity and imbecility, from their Slavonian and Italian thrones. In the east, the Ottomans swallowed up the relics of the Byzantine empire, from the Euphrates to the gates of Germany. Tamerlane, all over Central Asia, revived the horrible recollections of his predecessor, Zenghis ; but Europe only heard, as it were, the wailings at a distance of dissolving sultanates, and savage Tartars. Her civil and political circumstances are thus admirably described :—

‘ The preceding period has exhibited to us the victory of feudalism over the allodial system, and what was the result of this?—the complete triumph of aristocracy over popular government and monarchy. But this feudal aristocracy sapped the foundations of its power, by carrying it too far, and saw the two opponents, which it had prostrated, rise again in union against it—namely, monarchy and democracy.

These, leaguering themselves against the common enemy, would have easily gained the victory, had their alliance been intimate and true; had their efforts been directed by a clear perception; had they been consequent and free from secondary considerations, and from mutual jealousy. But this was not the case, which proved an advantage for aristocracy.

‘Hence originated a complicated contest, multifariously directed by the course of events, as well as by personal talents and passions, and on this account extremely changeable; in which we discern, indeed, as in every political contest, the two principal ideas, liberty and dominion, as the poles of the efforts of the opposite sides; but we see the same ideas, according to the point of view of the combatants, leading to quite different intermediate ends; so that the same principle, dominion, makes kings strive after the union, and nobles after the dismemberment of kingdoms; and so also, one and the same idea, that of freedom, here urges the commons to rally round the throne,—there induces the nobles, in insolent combination, to strive after an independence that abolishes the union of the state.

‘Scarcely was the odious intermediate power of the nobility destroyed, or essentially diminished, when the parts changed. Kings and people supposed that they now had less need of mutual assistance, and began to look with apprehension and distrust upon the rising power of one another. And common freedom, as the proud citizens demanded it, was incompatible with the aspiring majesty of some thrones. Then the kings commenced—several had done so already previously—to restore their favour to the nobles, as the enemies of popular power. Thus between the throne and the nobles, an alliance, not exactly sincere, but confirmed by the true interest of the last, and the apparent interest of the first, was now concluded, to keep down the commons; and it has—setting aside some solitary expectations, which are founded upon particular relations—continued to exist until the latest times.’—Vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

The seventh period introduces Modern History, developing quite new phenomena upon an enlarged geographical arena; and running down to the Peace of Westphalia. The human race now seem approximating much more to the appearance of one large common family, of which the respective members are quarrelsome enough, and wicked enough; yet at the same time presenting a visible and palpable connexion, with various kinds of reciprocal action pervading the several portions. The germs of innumerable inventions rise out of the vast social level. Colonies finances, politics, arts, and sciences, quicken into fresh extension and activity. Every region of thought or speculation widens. The outlines and details of the historic page become far clearer, more authentic, and, as allied with objects of our own experience, more intelligible and instructive than those of distant antiquity, which retreats into shadows growing darker and darker. The

annals of Europe become to all practical intents and purposes those of the world. Her states now form themselves into a regular system, the pendulum of the political clock being an idea of equilibrium. This idea, however, worked very imperfectly at first; each combination being exposed to abundant errors of calculation. Charles the Fifth, Francis the First, Henry the Eighth, Solymán the Magnificent, and Leo the Tenth, with their several successors, proved themselves but bungling workmen. Nevertheless, a balance of power vibrated on from generation to generation. Meanwhile prince Henry of Portugal, Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, and Christopher Columbus, had contributed, with many more illustrious names, to lift up the dark curtains of discovery. Wealth from India, and the precious metals from America, poured into Lisbon and the ports of Spain and Flanders. A still greater degree of interest attaches to what was then passing at home. The nominal church shone with little other illumination than a certain horribly phosphoric glare, which betrayed the putrescence of her corruptions. Luther blew the trumpet of alarm, when he boldly appealed from the decrees of the Vatican to the force of opinion, both public and private. Such a blast had not been heard in all previous ages. Luther, speaking of him as a mere instrument, was strong and almost irresistible, simply because, in faith having committed his cause to God, he clothed himself in the spirit of the times. Thousands rushed around him at his summons, feeling that he was an organ for expressing their sentiments. So writes Professor Rotteck; and as he avows himself a Catholic, our readers may naturally be curious to hear his able summary of the benefits of the Reformation. He considers them to have been far too much underrated; and would no doubt frown upon Puseyism from his chair! 'The internal and external liberty of nations were thereby established upon a firm foundation. For they not only annihilated the threatened preponderance of the double house of Austria; they not only preserved the independence of the less powerful states, and opposed a barrier to political as well as ecclesiastical tyranny; but they elevated nations themselves in mind, which here took the field for ideas, and from their own impulse, not merely as the armed serfs of rulers, and made them equally susceptible and worthy of liberty. The Reformation opened the way to freedom also in the peaceable direction of learned discussion and science. The fundamental idea of the Reformation was liberty, for it was resistance against an intolerable yoke. The friends of liberty were the natural friends of the Reformation, and it gave them an external point of union. But *liberty in one sphere is allied to that in every other: he who has tasted one kind, strives the more eagerly after every other!*' We cordially com-

mend these candid and beautiful statements to the consciences of our tractarian contemporaries at Oxford; unless indeed that celebrated university has set her heart upon a *facilis descensus* towards becoming a Salamanca to the three kingdoms!

From the pacification of Westphalia, in A.D. 1648, religion no longer remained the professed object of nations in making treaties, or declaring wars. France began to succeed Spain in being the grand scarecrow to the lesser European cabinets. The eighth period of Dr. Rotteck brings us as low as the French Revolution. He well remarks that modern artificial policy has demanded enormous sacrifices. If it has suppressed a war here and there by negotiations, it has 'thrown the torches of ten others, which, without it, would have been confined to the boundaries of two countries, perhaps,' instead of spreading conflagration and death over the whole of a continent, or even the more distant quarters of the earth. The affair of Aix-la-Chapelle, a century later than the boasted one at Osnaburg, affords a forcible illustration. The very principle of preserving the social equilibrium has sometimes been made a pretext for prosecuting needless contests, and perpetrating oppressions the most atrocious. Poland exhibited the so-called guardians of the European confederacy, acting in their true character, as vultures rather than conservators. National liberties were thus debased to the secured possessive state of the reigning houses. Governors entirely forgot their responsibilities both towards God and mankind. Commerce itself was always treated by them as a financial question. Popular rights, whenever alluded to at all, came in for no more consideration than might seem beneficial to royal revenues, or the speculations of authors and philosophers. Meanwhile, the vices of courts, which like vampires had subsisted on the property or blood of millions, at length turned into harbingers of vengeance and dismay. Injustice, grown gigantic, had trampled down in its pleasure both industry and freedom; when, in a moment unanticipated, and therefore the more alarming, democracy thundered at the door! Multitudes of people had thought and reasoned, whilst haughty aristocracies had looked them over, as incapable of doing either. Military heroes had been the idols of princes and nobles in the eighteenth century; whilst the lower and middle classes were anxiously yet silently fostering a spirit of intelligence, reflection, and science, before which the edge of the sword would be worthless. That spirit, aided by the press, was destined to change the entire face of affairs. When England, guided by her oligarchy, commenced a violent assault upon America, the old clouds of abuse, despotism, oppression, and hierarchy, opened amidst the fierceness of battle, and let in many sunbeams of hope for popular masses to console themselves

with. An hour was at hand, when the magnificent truth would be propounded and realized, that *government is a trust to be administered for the benefit of the governed*. War, indeed, had first to spread along various shores, and over the fairest districts of the globe; but Washington triumphed at last. His name will ever be as dear to liberal politicians, as that of Luther must be to every section of honest Protestants. Great Britain succumbed to the Peace of Versailles in 1783, recognising the independence of her former colonies, and introducing a new state, pregnant with great things, into the system of the civilized world. 'Europe went over to America. The human race felt momentarily the most multifarious influences; but coming centuries will display the immensity of the consequences of this grand event.'

We can only glance at the ninth and last period of Professor Rotteck, as to that part of it which bears on our own country. He compares the first French Revolution with the Reformation; deeming, moreover, that of July in 1830, as likely to lead to one of three possible things,—either to the suppression of all liberty in Europe, or the total subversion everywhere of absolute and aristocratical power; or, finally, a division of dominion between autocracy and constitutionalism. France he conceives to be no more tranquillized, at present, than a slumbering volcano may be so described. England, however, achieved the Reform Bill in part through the intense sympathies awakened and organized by the success of the Barricades. Our author accurately shews up the treacherous usurpations of the landocracy, whether peers or commoners, in nominating members for the close or rotten boroughs; that many of our most important places possessed no representatives at all; and that the forty-five Scotch deputies had no will of their own. After some not inaccurate delineation of the various struggles between the conservatives and liberals, he portrays the moderate radicals as maintaining, that the 'enormous oppression of imposts, which weighed upon the people, connected with the dearness artificially produced by the Corn Laws, could be remedied only by a true national representation.' The following is his picture of ecclesiastical matters in the sister kingdom; which, from the enormity of their still remaining scandals, he evidently thinks may some day or other help to elevate these moderate radicals into office; the suppression of the Irish bishoprics by Lord Grey is the measure more immediately alluded to:—

'That hierarchy of Ireland, which was more abundantly provided with earthly goods than the catholic priesthood of Italy and Spain had ever been, did not correspond ever with its immediate destination; since most of the incumbents left the care of their churches to curates hired

for a miserable reward. It was not deemed enough that this island suffered from the evils of a surplus population, numbering eight millions of inhabitants to 6600 square miles; but besides, the possession of the soil was in the hands either of a few English families, or of the Anglican clergy, and its produce was consumed by those, as by these, mostly without the island. The Irish benefices afforded to the younger sons of the English aristocracy an excellent maintenance; for they imposed upon their incumbents still less than the ecclesiastical affairs in England, because 6,500,000 of the Irish belonged to the Catholic church. The general hatred of this unfortunate people, produced by political oppression, was directed chiefly against the ministers of the dominant church, who lived on the fat of the land. This church has burdened the people by tithes, and the maintenance of its temples or parsonages have cost large sums, whilst the catholic population, besides these contributions and costs, have had to pay their own clergy; and the price of leases, by which the greatest part of the inhabitants obtained their subsistence, is continually raised by the throng of solicitors, and the gain of labour is reduced to the lowest measure. Amidst the most luxurious fertility of the country, millions of its cultivators languish in a condition, compared with which the lot of domestic animals might almost appear enviable. Such an unnatural organization of civil relations cannot but at last lead to extremities.'—Vol. iv. p. 348.

What may be expected to occur in Ireland will be sure to effect corresponding consequences in England. Perhaps the statesmen of our three kingdoms, encumbered with the trammels of office, or the agitations in parliament of political partisanship, may not very frequently look out of their windows to explore and ponder the signs of the times. Yet *when*, we would venture to ask, have they ever been more important or portentous? What is a survey of General History, like that we have now been hastily running over, but a long lesson to those who will learn; the result of the realizations of the past, pointing towards the anticipations of the future? Is any fact plainer, than that truth alone will abide the approaching trial; or that the element, which has been shaking Europe since 1789, imported thither as it was from the triumph of our transatlantic colonies, is now rife and abroad, and swelling into all conceivable activity and energy in these countries? Its principal food, let it be remembered, is neither more nor less than unredressed grievances! Its potency to overthrow must and will always exist, in its being able to convict national institutions of hypocrisy, and prove manifold oppression to be their palpable and natural consequence. Let the lower classes of any nation be but once brought to believe, or perceive, that their governors are either cheating or plundering them, and we may feel certain that large organic changes are at hand. The annals of every people under the sun go to prove this; and then let us

inquire how affairs stand amongst ourselves. As to our constitution, we profess to be free, to have sat under the tree of liberty for ages; to have even distributed its fruit and leaves indirectly to other nations. Now our starving millions avow by their voices and signatures that they know this to be a fiction and a deception. In reality, we groan under an aristocracy, whose spirit, at once cold, and hard, and cruel, has entered into the very soul of the state! The falsity branded upon its forehead meets us at every turn. It has taught us to deem ourselves a Christian nation, because our territorial surface appears subdivided into parishes, with one or more pastors in each, paid by the state for preaching that gospel, which is righteousness, peace, and mercy. Let the church history of the last hundred years, the persecutions by our prelates of vital godliness, the existing injustice as to church-rates and analogous nuisances, the hostile aspect of a dominant establishment towards civil and religious freedom, its conduct with regard to national education—tell the true story. We write in sorrow more than in anger; under the influence, we trust, of an indignation, not selfish nor unholy, against delusive systems, not in a spirit of hostility towards individuals. What we denounce is, that enormous fraud in both church and state, which has hitherto misled millions, and robbed them so unmercifully of their best rights into the bargain! We profess to have reformed parliament—let election committees tell the true story. We pretend that rich and poor are equal before the law—let the dearness of justice, the withholdment of cheap courts, a comparison with the state of the case on the Continent, the partiality shewn to the opulent and well-connected—let all these, we say, tell the true story! Our magnates declare themselves genuine tribunes of the people—tender nurses of their property and privileges—intent upon a tariff which is to banish poverty from the land; whilst in reality, they levy an impost of from twelve to twenty millions per annum upon the staff of life, to keep up a war rental. They protect sugar, to uphold monopoly, under the most impudent pretext of discountenancing slavery. They have shielded their own many flocks and herds beneath every possible immunity from taxation, and have offered up the *poor man's lamb*, his labour, his little luxuries, if one may call them so without mockery, his bread, his provisions, his industry, to the ruthless shears of an embarrassed and greedy exchequer! Further and further, almost *ad infinitum*, the parallel might proceed; but the heart of philanthropy sickens at the sight, and looking into the glass of history, seems ready to start at the gloominess of the shadows of the future!

Que cum ita sint, as Cicero so often says in his orations, we believe matters cannot last; they cannot go on in the manner

they have done. Where is now the once boasted wealth of our middle classes ; that opulence, which was not so large to individuals as to corrupt,—but which, mighty and enormous in its aggregate, made us the noblest amongst the traffickers of the earth? Is the vast capital of this country accumulating or wasting? Are the nerves of enterprise braced and healthy, or enervated and sickly? Let gaunt pauperism, with its lank arms, its lean and emaciated body, its pale, withered cheeks, and its sunken, sullen, and angry eye, answer this query at the bar of parliament. Von Raumer observed, some years ago, that the anchor of British prosperity had descended into such deep waters, that the storms which agitate their surface, could but slightly affect it! Yet, what would he say now? Our aristocracy has cut the cables. It held the helm for one hundred and forty years, from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, and again and again would fain have run the vessel upon rocks and quicksands, had Providence not interfered in awakening popular resistance just at the critical moment. How are matters now—the peerage every day boasting that the rudder is once more in their own hands?

‘Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant: ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius æquor!’

These last reflections have been strongly impressed on our minds in closing these four volumes. In parting from their author, we would just mention, that his frequent allusions to *Fate*, in our judgment, ought to have been made to *Providence*; although we were in some small degree relieved by a definition in vol. i. p. 140, that what is called *fate*, ‘consists in the concurrence of all internal and external circumstances, to effect which is beyond the limits of human power and wisdom;’ implying afterwards, as we conceive, a recognition, far less full indeed than we could desire, that the Almighty disposer of all events is the King of kings and Lord of lords. It gave us pain, also, to perceive that the suicide of Brutus does not appear to be properly reprobated: vol. i. p. 281; with some other omissions of a similar kind. History, to be really what Dionysius Halicarnassus has described it, must be a ‘philosophy’ founded upon the principles of true religion, ‘teaching by examples’ weighed in the golden balances of the sanctuary. Let us also remind the translator, that such renderings as ‘accolents,’ instead of *inhabitants*, vol. i. p. 77, are intolerable affectations in so good and forcible a language as our own. We love to have as much pure English as possible; and

are quite willing to admit, with much pleasure, that in the main, considering more especially the great extent and comprehensiveness of the work, he has succeeded in 'his sole endeavour to give the ideas of his author accurately, and in the plainest language.'

Art. II. *A History of British Birds.* By William Yarrell, F.L.S., F.Z.S. Vols. 1 and 2. 8vo. London: Van Voorst.

BRITISH ornithology has, during the last few years, made rapid progress. Much of this is to be attributed to the improvements in the art of engraving. Thomas Bewick's admirable figures gave life and impetus to the science, and his work has been followed by others on the same branch of natural history, although never surpassed until the appearance of Mr. Yarrell's *History of British Birds*. We have, on more than one occasion, strongly recommended this work to our readers, and the excellence of its illustrations, together with the information it contains, fully justify the praise which we have bestowed. Compared with Bewick's, Mr. Yarrell's engravings must have the preference both as works of art and as delineations of natural objects, though the rich humour of the admirable tail-pieces contained in Bewick's volumes still remains unrivalled. We think, however, that in a scientific work useful vignettes are preferable to humorous ones; and we are glad to perceive that in Mr. Yarrell's 'History' the tail-pieces generally illustrate the structure, nidification, &c., of the species to the notice of which they are attached. The eyes, bill, feet, sternum, &c., are in many instances illustrated; but the most elegant vignettes are those of the nests of British birds. Some are exceedingly interesting, and add greatly to the beauty and value of the work. Take, for instance, the nest of the reed-warbler (vol. i. p. 273), common whitethroat (i. 292), wood-warbler (i. 301), Dartford warbler (i. 316), regulus (i. 321), &c. We believe that our readers, after examining the illustrations to which we have referred, would regret to see them displaced, even though the humorous productions of a second Bewick were substituted. In a few cases, Mr. Yarrell's engravers have attempted the Bewickian style, but with very partial success. Contrast the vignettes at pp. 288 and 520 of the first volume, and at p. 7 of the second, with Bewick's tail-pieces, and there is a raciness and *point* in the latter, with which Mr. Yarrell's can bear no comparison. But whilst disapproving of the introduction of humorous vignettes, we are far from believing that Bewick's were useless. On the contrary, we think it highly probable that

they promoted the reputation and sale of his work, and by so doing, popularized the science and gave a stimulus to its study.

The elegance of structure and of plumage, and the almost infinite variety of notes, with which many of the feathered tribes are endowed, secure for them notice and admiration from even the most casual observers. It requires, however, diligent and persevering research fully to appreciate the many points of interest which this branch of natural history affords. Nature must be investigated narrowly if we wish to penetrate into the deeper recesses of her temple, where the highest and most wonderful of her works are enshrined. We do not, therefore, recommend Mr. Yarrell's 'History' as a *substitute* for, but as an *assistance* to observation, and so regarded, it will, we have no doubt, prove highly serviceable both to the student and to the more advanced naturalist.

Mr. Yarrell opens his first volume with an account of the British *raptores*, which are arranged under three families,—*vulturidæ*, *falconidæ*, and *strigidæ*. Only one species of vulture has been found in this kingdom, and the two specimens seen of it were very evidently stragglers from another country. The species is the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), a specimen of which Mr. Selby states was shot near Kilve, in Somersetshire, and is now in the possession of the Rev. A. Mathews of that place. When first seen, it was feeding on the carcase of a dead sheep, upon which it had so gorged itself as to be unable to fly far at a time, and was consequently approached and shot. Another bird, supposed to be the mate of the one killed, was seen for some days afterwards in the neighbourhood, but being more wary than its companion, escaped. The Egyptian vulture is most common in tropical Africa, where it is of essential service in clearing away the putrid bodies of animals. They are, consequently, protected by the natives, every group of whom has a pair of these vultures attached to it. In Egypt this species is termed Pharaoh's hen, and Rachamah. Bruce is of opinion that this latter appellation is derived from the Hebrew *Rechem*, which signifies love, or attachment; and this supposition appears highly probable, as the vulture was sacred to Isis, and considered an emblem of parental affection. Mr. Yarrell's figures of the young bird (p. 1) and of an adult (p. 6), were taken from specimens in the museum of the Zoological Society.

The *falconidæ* form the most numerous and interesting family of British *raptores*. Mr. Swainson terms them the typical group, and their powers of flight, vision, and the strength of their talons and bill, are pre-eminent. The food of the *falconidæ* is various; some destroy quadrupeds and birds, others fish, and the smaller species often feed upon insects. None in their natural state feed

upon vegetables, and their carnivorous propensity is so strong, that starvation would not compel them to devour other than their natural food. Placed in the animal world to prevent an undue abundance of vegetable feeders, the rapacious tribes are restricted to animal diet, to which their internal organization is peculiarly adapted. Falcons may, however, by artificial means, be induced to break this natural law. The experiment has been satisfactorily tried by John Hunter, who informs us, in his *Animal Economy*, that to a tame kite he first gave fat, which it ate very readily, then tallow and butter, and afterwards small balls of bread rolled in fat or butter, and by decreasing the fat gradually, it at last ate bread alone, and seemed to thrive as well as when fed with meat. Hunter mentions that 'Spallanzani attempted in vain to make an eagle eat bread by itself; but by enclosing the bread in meat, so as to deceive the eagle, the bread was swallowed, and digested in the stomach.'

Mr. Swainson divided the *falconidæ* into the following sub-families: *aquilinæ* (eagles), *falconinæ* (true falcons), *accipitrinæ* (hawks), *cymindinæ* (kites), and *buteoninæ* (buzzards). Of each of these subfamilies there are British examples.

The *aquilinæ* are restricted in this kingdom to the golden and white-tailed eagles, and the osprey. It is not often that the ornithologist has an opportunity in England of observing the habits of the 'king of birds.' The golden eagle (*aquila chrysaetos*) has occurred, though very rarely, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Derbyshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cornwall, &c., but it is in the mountainous districts of Scotland, and the northern and western isles, that this fine species is to be viewed, in its native magnificence, the denizen of the most inaccessible rocks. When in search of prey it descends with majestic sweeps to the valleys and carries off fawns, lambs, hares, &c. That the vicinity of such a destroyer, however pleasing to the naturalist, is not very gratifying to the farmer, may be inferred from the war of extermination which is at present taking place in the highlands of Scotland. So great, indeed, is the depredation committed by the golden and white-tailed eagles at the lambing season, that every means are employed for their destruction. The number of birds which are annually killed is very considerable, and Sir William Jardine mourns, that if this slaughter continues 'we shall ere long look in vain for this appropriate ornament of our northern landscape.'

The osprey (*pandion haliaëtus*) feeds almost exclusively upon fish. Its habits have been graphically described by Alexander Wilson, who states that the height at which the osprey 'glides is various—from one hundred, to one hundred and fifty, and two hundred feet—sometimes much higher, all the while calmly re-

connoitring the face of the deep below. . . . At once, from this sublime aerial height, he descends like a perpendicular torrent, plunging into the sea with a loud rushing sound, and with the certainty of a rifle. In a few moments he emerges, bearing in his claws his struggling prey, which he always carries head foremost, and, having risen a few feet above the surface, shakes himself, as a water spaniel would do, and directs his heavy and laborious course directly for the land.' Dr. Richardson remarks that 'the versatility of the outer toe of the osprey, the strength, curvature, and sharpness of its claws, and the roughness of the soles of its feet, are peculiarities of structure adapted to the better securing its slippery prey; and the shortness of its thigh feathers, unusual in the falcon tribe, is also evidently connected with its fishing habits.'

The sub-families, *falconinæ* and *accipitrinæ*, include the various species, once so highly esteemed in the diversions of falconry or hawking. This 'noble art' appears to have been introduced in the most remote ages. In the Bayeux tapestry, Harold, afterwards king of England, is represented with a hawk upon his hand. Indeed, from his days until Charles II., it was the principal amusement of noble and royal personages. Stringent laws were made to protect the valued hunters, and in the 34th Edward III., it was made felony to steal a hawk; to take its eggs, even in a person's own ground, was punishable with imprisonment for a year and a day, and a fine at the king's pleasure. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Monson is said to have given one thousand pounds for a couple of hawks. This, however, must have been a very extravagant price, as, in an account book of the time of Henry VIII., a goshawk and two falcons are valued at three pounds, and five falcons and a tercel (male) at eight pounds. In the language of falconry, the female peregrine (*falco peregrinus*) is exclusively called the '*falcon*,' and was much prized, being larger in size and more courageous than the male, which is termed a '*tercel*,' or '*tiercel*.' But the days of hawking are almost over. Inclosures, with the increased cultivation of the land, and the introduction of other amusements, have sadly depreciated the value of the falcon tribe, and the gamekeepers remorselessly destroy the peregrine and the goshawk, now no longer protected by feudal statutes. So little is the ancient sport regarded in these days, that Sir John Sebright, who with some other gentlemen attempted to revive the amusement in Norfolk, informs us that 'John Pells, now (1826) in the service of my friend, J. D. Downes, Esq., of Old Gunton Hill, Suffolk, and who also manages the heron hawks kept by subscription in Norfolk, is, I believe, the only efficient falconer by profession now remaining; all the others, whom I remember, are either

dead or worn out, and there has been no inducement to younger men to follow the employment of their forefathers.'

Honest Isaac Walton, in his 'Complete Angler,' gives a list of the hawks which were most used in the time of Charles I. This list includes the peregrine, gyr-falcon, lanner, merlin, goshawk, sparrowhawk, &c. In the *Naturalist*, it is stated that 'Captain Green, of Buckden, in Huntingdonshire, has now [1837] in his possession a splendid specimen of the golden eagle, which he has himself trained to take hares and rabbits.' Montague was of opinion that the osprey was formerly trained for hunting, as in an Act of William and Mary, persons are prohibited at a certain period of the year from taking any salmon by 'hawks, racks, guns,' &c. This opinion is strengthened by the 'bald buzzard,' or osprey, being included in Isaac Walton's list.

The engravings illustrative of the *falconidæ* are very beautiful and characteristic. All are excellent; but we are the best pleased with the figures of the gyr falcon (p. 26), peregrine (p. 32), and common buzzard (p. 76), which in spirit and execution are works of the highest merit. Several of the vignettes are appropriately devoted to the illustration of falconry.

The owls (*strigidæ*) are thus described by Mr. Yarrell:—

'The characters and appearance of owls are so singular and so peculiar, that once having seen them they are not readily forgotten. They have but little external beauty of form. The head is large, the expression grotesque, the body bulky in appearance, the plumage soft and downy. Unlike the falcons which hunt for their food by day, the owls seek their prey during the twilight of morning and evening, and probably during the greater part of the night, if the state of the moon or the atmosphere affords sufficient light for the purpose. From this habit of flying at night, the singular appearance of the bird produced by the arrangement of the feathers over the face, forming a broad circular disk, a peculiar hollow tone of voice unlike that of any other bird, and the additional circumstance of most of the species selecting ivy-covered ruins of sacred edifices as places of resort from the solitude and protection the character of such remains afford, owls have been considered by the superstitious as birds of darkness and ill-omen, and by some even as messengers of death. Thus Shakspeare says—

'Out on ye, owls!—nothing but songs of death.'

Richard the Third.

The eyes of owls are large and appear to be particularly susceptible of impressions from light. If exposed to the glare of day, most of the species seem to be powerfully affected by it, and the eyes are either closed entirely or defended by an internal eyelid, which is brought down with ease and rapidity. The power of hearing in owls is probably more acute than in many other birds; the auditory opening in

some species is very large, and covered by an operculum, which is elevated or closed at pleasure. Their flight is easy and buoyant, but not rapid; and from the soft texture of the feathers, even those of the wings, their flight is performed without noise.—Vol. i. pp. 108, 109.

The notes of owls are various. Most of the species screech and hoot in a very disagreeable manner. The least unpleasant, perhaps, are the notes of the scops-eared owl (*Scops Aldrovandi*), which repeats throughout the night its plaintive and monotonous cry of *kew, kew*, at intervals of about two seconds, with as much regularity as the ticking of a pendulum. The species is a very small one, and rare in England; in Italy, where its habits have been observed by Mr. Spence, it is abundant during the summer months.

Mr. Waterton, in his *Essays on Natural History*, takes some pains to remove the foolish prejudice with which these useful birds are regarded. 'Up to the year 1813,' he remarks, 'the barn owl had a sad time of it at Walton Hall. Its supposed mournful notes alarmed the aged housekeeper. She knew full well what sorrow it had brought into other houses when she was a young woman; and there was enough of mischief in the midnight wintry blast, without having it increased by the dismal screams of something which people knew very little about, and which everybody said was far too busy in the churchyard at night-time. The gamekeeper agreed with her in everything she said on this important subject; and he always stood better in her books when he had managed to shoot a bird of this bad and mischievous family.' But the amiable squire on his return from Guiana broke up the league between the crone and gamekeeper, and the persecuted owl now finds a safe retreat in the ivy-covered ruins of the old gateway at Walton Hall. The quantity of mice which a single pair of the barn owl destroy in the course of a year must be immense; it is therefore to be hoped that the time is not far distant when these 'churchyard visitants' will be protected, and their services duly appreciated. The barn owl (i. p. 126), and snowy owl (i. p. 134), are admirably figured. Vignettes of the crystalline lens and bony ring of the eye of the snowy owl are given at p. 138; and the orifice of the ear in *Strix otus* is figured at p. 117.

The second order of birds, *insessores*, is a very extensive one, including more species than any other of the primary divisions of the feathered race.

'They are distinguished as an order by possessing the largest volume of brain in proportion to their size, and a corresponding degree of intelligence; the vocal organs are present in the highest degree to be found in the class, and several of the species are capable of imitating

the sounds of the human voice; by the perfection of the foot it is adapted to the greatest variety of purposes, and the hind toe is always present, and always articulated on the same level or plane with the foretoes. I am indebted to Mr. MacLeay for the knowledge of another character; the young of all the insessorial birds are hatched naked, not then exhibiting those filaments of down which precede the first feathers.'—Vol. i. p. 150.

The thrushes (*merulidæ*) are general favourites, and their habits are consequently almost universally known. Mr. Yarrell has arranged in this family the dipper (*cinclus aquaticus*), which has been a puzzle to most ornithologists. Systematists have disputed upon the group in which this remarkable bird should be placed, whilst its habits have been a fruitful source of controversy amongst observers. The former point has, we think, been well settled by Mr. Swainson, who regards the dipper as belonging to the sub-family, *myotherinæ*, or ant-thrushes, which are closely allied to the true thrushes (*merulinæ*.) The habits of the dipper, as its name implies, are aquatic, and it has been the opinion of some naturalists that this bird has the power of *walking below* the water. An amusing controversy upon this question was carried on a few years since in Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History*, between the Rev. F. O. Morris and Mr. Waterton. It is to be regretted that the combatants waxed wroth, and the retorts were personal. Mr. Waterton, who, in our opinion, had the best of it, both in wit and argument, justly remarked, that 'the rivulets frequented by the water-ouzel [or dipper] afford numberless opportunities to the observer who wishes to watch the motions of this bird. He has only to conceal himself behind some rock that rises from the stream, or to show himself suddenly on the bank of the brook where the water-ouzel is found, and he will see the little bird go under water, and he will be able to trace its downward process. He then fancies that he sees it walk on the ground, when, in fact, it does no such thing; the observer's own eyes, in this instance, giving him false information.' Mr. Macgillivray, whose ornithological abilities have acquired him considerable reputation, and who, we are glad to learn, has recently obtained the chair of natural history at Marischal College, Aberdeen, agrees with Mr. Waterton respecting the habits of the dipper. The professor has paid considerable attention to the subject, and gives the result of his observations in *The Naturalist*, where he states that the actions of the dipper under water are precisely similar to those of the divers, mergansers, and cormorants. Great force is, of course, necessary to enable the bird to counteract the effects of gravity, and to keep itself at the bottom; and Mr. Macgillivray has perceived it 'not merely using the wing from the carpal joint, but extending it

considerably, and employing its whole extent, just as if moving in the air.' He adds, that 'the assertion of its walking below the water, which some persons have ventured, is not made good by observation, nor countenanced by reason.' Mr. Waterton exclaims, 'if the water-ouzel can walk on the ground at the bottom of the water, then

'Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,
Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.'

'All nature's laws will tumble in decay,
And e'en the world itself will lose its way.'

The affection which is naturally inspired by the inoffensive habits and beautiful notes of the common song-thrush (*turdus musicus*), will not be lessened by the following anecdote:—

'Mr. Knapp, in his *Journal of a Naturalist*, has related an interesting fact, in reference to the thrush, in the following terms:—'We observed, this summer, two common thrushes frequenting the shrubs on the green in our garden. From the slenderness of their forms, and the freshness of their plumage, we pronounced them to be birds of the preceding summer. There was an association and friendship between them that called our attention to their actions. One of them seemed ailing, or feeble from some bodily accident; for though it hopped about, yet it appeared unable to obtain sufficiency of food. Its companion, an active, sprightly bird, would frequently bring it worms or bruised snails, when they mutually partook of the banquet; and the ailing bird would wait patiently, understand the actions, expect the assistance of the other, and advance from his asylum at its approach. This procedure was continued for some days; but after a time we missed the fostered bird, which probably died, or by reason of its weakness, met with some fatal accident.'—Vol. i., p. 195.

The redwing thrush (*t. iliacus*), according to Mr. Hewitson, is called the 'Nightingale of Norway,' a distinction which it shares with the ring ouzel (*merula torquata*). Both are admirable songsters, and well deserve their Norwegian appellation. The common blackbird, or more correctly, *black ouzel* (*m. vulgaris*), is possessed of considerable powers of imitation, having been known to crow exactly like the common cock, to imitate closely part of the song of the nightingale, and to cackle as a hen does after laying. Its own notes are very beautiful; and the black ouzel, like the other thrushes, is exceedingly useful in destroying vast numbers of larvæ, insects, snails, &c., which would otherwise seriously injure the horticulturist. We might have expected that these good qualities would have been some protection from the ruthless persecution of man. But the black ouzel has, unfortunately, too great a partiality for various kinds of fruit to be liked by the gardener, who, unmindful of the

many advantages derived from the bird, destroys it without mercy. The gardener, however, is not its only enemy; unhappily there are too many persons in the land, whose barbarous dispositions lead them to kill for 'sport' the most lovely of our feathered songsters; and the melody of the thrush is too often closed by the murderous aim of an amateur sportsman. We cannot sufficiently reprobate the practice, which should be held in general abhorrence. Grahame, in his poem on the Birds of Scotland, thus appeals to the jealous gardener on behalf of the blackbird:—

' Scare, if ye will, his timid wing away,
But O, let not the leaden viewless shower,
Volleyed from flashing tube, arrest his flight,
And fill his tuneful, gaping bill with blood.'

The family of warblers (*sylviadæ*) is a very extensive one, and the species it contains are of great use in destroying innumerable minute insects which infest vegetation. The size of the warblers is small, and their structure delicate and elegant. They are also distinguished by the possession of considerable vocal powers. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the species are regarded with much favour by the 'lords of creation.' Thus, the robin is esteemed everywhere, and the confidence it displays in approaching the habitations of man is repaid with kindness and affection. When the autumn has cast its mellow tinge over the landscape, and when wintry blasts have driven to warmer climes most of our little vocalists, the robin still utters its cheerful notes from the denuded branch, or hops into the farm-yard, a welcome visitant and cherished pensioner. To the same family also belongs the nightingale, which, to use the words of Isaac Walton, 'breathes such sweet loud music out of her little instrumental throat, that it might make mankind to think that miracles are not ceased. He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear, as I have very often, the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, 'Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in heaven, when thou affordest bad men such music on earth!'

The habits of the nightingale are thus described by Mr. Yarrell:—

'The localities frequented by the nightingale are woods having thick undergrowth, low coppices, plantations, and hedgerows. The extensive grounds around London, which are cultivated by market gardeners, are favourite haunts with this bird; low damp meadows, near streams, are also frequented; and M. Vieillot says, they are partial to the vicinity of an echo. From the pairing time to the hatching of the young, the male continues in full song, not only singing at

intervals throughout the day, but frequently serenading his partner during the night; and Pennant says, the name of the bird is derived from our term *night*, and the Saxon word *galan*, to sing. The nest of this bird is almost always placed on the ground: advantage is taken of a slight depression in the soil, some dead oak and hornbeam leaves are deposited therein, with a few dried bents and portions of rushes, lined internally towards the bottom with fine fibrous roots, but so loosely constructed, that it is generally necessary to pass thread or string several times round the whole nest, before removing it, if desirous of preserving its form. The eggs are four or five in number, of a uniform olive-brown colour, and measuring ten lines in length by eight lines and a half in breadth. The eggs are produced in May, and the young are hatched in June. From this period the song of the male is heard no more; a single low croaking note is uttered as a warning, should danger threaten, occasionally changing to a sharp, snapping noise, made with the beak, which is considered to be a note of defiance. Colonel Montagu took a nest of young nightingales early in June, and placing them in a cage, observed that the parent birds fed them principally with small green caterpillars. The adult birds feed on insects of various sorts, flies, moths, spiders, and earwigs.—Vol. i., pp. 276, 277.

Every locality in which insects are found is assigned as the habitation of some of the warblers. The hedgerows, gardens, &c., are tenanted by the hedge accentor, redstart, black-cap warbler, garden warbler, common and lesser whitethroats, chiff-chaff, &c. In swampy grounds, or on the banks of streams, amongst the willows, reeds, &c., are found the sedge and reed warblers, and the nightingale. Dry commons and heaths, partially covered with furze and brushwood, are the localities of the stone-chat, whin-chat, Dartford warbler, and other species. And lastly, the wood and willow warblers seek their insect prey on tall trees, in plantations, &c.

The scarcity of insect life in this kingdom during the autumnal and winter months, renders it necessary for the majority of the *sylviadæ* to migrate to warmer climes. Most of the species leave this country about September, and return again in April. Our earliest spring visitants are the wheat-ear and chiff-chaff, which arrive here by the middle of March. The only warblers which remain with us the whole year, are the robin, hedge accentor, stone-chat, Dartford warbler, and golden-crested regulus. Two authenticated instances are recorded of the whin-chat having been found in England during winter. One of the specimens was found dead by the Rev. R. Holdsworth,—‘in one of the warmest spots in England,’—having evidently been killed by the frost. The whin-chat can only, therefore, be regarded as a summer visitant. Amongst the rarest of the British *sylviadæ* are the Alpine accentor (of which three specimens have occurred),

the blue-throated warbler (two specimens), the black redstart, and the fire-crested regulus (*R. ignacapillus*). The last species has most probably been confounded, by many observers, with the common golden-crested regulus, and it is very likely will be found to be not so rare as it is at present regarded. It was first discovered in England by the Rev. L. Jenyns, and may be distinguished from the common species by a white streak above the eyes; the reddish colour of the crest is also much more vivid than that of the same parts in the golden-crested regulus. We invite the attention of our ornithological readers to these species, as we fully anticipate that careful investigation will lead to the discovery of the beautiful *ignacapillus* in most parts of the kingdom. A third species of *regulus* has been described by Mr. Gould, under the name of *R. modestus*, a single specimen of which appears to have been captured by Mr. Hancock, on the Northumbrian coast. Mr. Yarrell was probably not aware of this occurrence of *R. modestus*, or he would have given his opinion on the species. At present, it seems doubtful whether it is not merely an immature specimen of one of the other species. Mr. Gould's description was taken from a single specimen which was shot in Dalmatia, and Mr. Hancock's is the only other occurrence of *modestus* at present known. The last-named gentleman inserted a minute description of it in the *Annals of Natural History* (vol. ii., pp. 310, 311), and the editors of that periodical mention that Mr. Hancock had stated to Mr. Selby, as a reason for considering the species distinct, that the covering of the nostrils in his specimen was not composed of a single plumulet, as in the other known *reguli*. If an immature specimen, we are inclined to believe that it will be *R. ignacapillus*, to which it is evidently closely allied. It is probable, however, that further investigation may substantiate the species.

The *reguli* naturally lead us to the family *paridæ*, or titmice, which

'Are remarkable for the beauty of the colours of their plumage, and the well-defined character of the markings. These birds also attract attention from their vivacity and incessant activity. They are indefatigable in their search for food, and being fearless in disposition, may be readily observed climbing the trunks of trees, or by the aid of their strong toes and hooked claws, hanging suspended from the under surface of branches, while examining every cavity, leaf, or bud, that is likely to afford shelter to any of their numerous insect prey. These birds exhibit several peculiarities common to different groups of the denti-rostral division. The great tit, so called, and placed first in the series, because the largest in size, will frequently kill small birds, accomplishing his purpose by repeated blows of his hard and sharp beak on the skull of the victim, and afterwards picking out and eating the brains.'—Vol. i. p. 327.

The British species of this family remain with us the whole year. From their habit of searching the buds of fruit-trees for insect prey, the blue tits have been considered injurious to the gardener. We fully agree with Mr. Selby in believing, that 'the trifling injury occasionally committed by the abrasion of a few flower-buds is more than compensated by the destruction of innumerable larvæ and eggs of the insect tribe, which are usually deposited in or about those essential parts of fructification, and which, if allowed to proceed through the necessary changes, would effectually check all hope of produce.' Other naturalists confirm this opinion. The poor tits have, however, a 'bad name,' and a price is, in some cases, set upon their heads. Mr. Knapp, in his *Journal of a Naturalist*, records an item passed in a churchwarden's account 'for seventeen dozen of tomtits' heads!' 'In what evil hour, and for what crime,' he remarks, 'this poor little bird could have incurred the anathema of a parish, it is difficult to conjecture.' The present excellent Bishop of Norwich, in his *Familiar History of Birds*, notices an instance of the great tit (*parus major*) having been seen in latitude 40° N., and longitude 48° W., more than half way across the Atlantic. The long-tailed tit (*P. caudatus*) is the architect of a very beautiful nest, which is admirably figured at p. 348 of vol. i. 'In shape, it is nearly oval, with one small hole in the upper part of the side by which the bird enters. The outside of this nest sparkles with silver-coloured lichens adhering to a firm texture of moss and wool, the inside profusely lined with soft feathers.' The food of the bearded tits (*P. biarmicus*) in winter is principally the seed of the reed; and so intent are they in searching for it, that Mr. Hoy has taken them with a bird-limed twig attached to the end of a fishing-rod. Mr. Dykes states, in the *Magazine of Natural History*, that he found the crops of three specimens of the bearded tit completely filled with the *succinea amphibia*, the shells of which were unbroken. In one crop, the shells were so closely packed together, that it contained twenty, some of them of good size; in addition to which, there were four specimens of the *pupa muscorum*. The shells appeared to be taken into the stomach entire, and were then destroyed by the action of the stomach, assisted by sharp angular fragments of quartz, which had been swallowed for the purpose.

The habits of the wagtails (*motacillidæ*) are pretty generally known. Most of our readers must be familiar with the elegant pied wagtail that frequents the margins of ponds, streams, &c., where it may be seen in constant activity, running about, taking short and undulating flights, or wading in shallow water, in search of aquatic insects, larvæ, &c. Its tail, like that of the other species in this family, has a 'graceful fanning motion,' which

adds to the sprightly appearance of the birds, and has secured to them their characteristic appellation. The food of the wagtails consists principally of insects, but we have the authority of Mr. Rayner, of Uxbridge, for believing that the pied and yellow wagtails have other prey. That gentleman keeps a variety of birds in a large aviary, and he informed Mr. Yarrell that he had, 'during the summer and autumn of 1837, several wagtails, the pied and yellow, both of which were very expert in catching and feeding on minnows, which were in a fountain in the centre of the aviary. These birds hover over the water, and as they skim the surface, catch the minnow as it approaches the top of the water in the most dexterous manner; and I was much surprised at the wariness and cunning of some blackbirds and thrushes in watching the wagtails catch the minnows, and immediately seizing the prize for their own dinner.' We are not aware that any other naturalist has observed the remarkable and interesting facts which Mr. Rayner has recorded.

The grey wagtail (*M. boarula*) is less common than the pied (*M. Yarrellii*), which it resembles in frequenting marshes, the banks of streams, &c. Sometimes the grey wagtail may be seen wading in shallow water in search of aquatic insects, and it also feeds upon a common species of fresh-water bivalve (*cyclas cornea*), and probably upon other molluscs. At other times these birds 'run upon the tops of the weeds, which are partly submerged in the ditches,' and obtain from thence their insect prey. The common yellow wagtail is not so aquatic as the species last noticed, although it is not unfrequently found in the vicinity of water. Its principal localities, however, are 'open downs and sheep pastures, fields of young green corn, and not unusually dry fallows, where, perched on a clod of earth, or upon a stone, this bird may be seen fanning its tail, and exhibiting its rich yellow breast to the greatest advantage.'

Considerable confusion exists in the synonymy of the species of this family. Until recently, there were only three wagtails entered in our fauna, *Motacilla alba*, *flava*, and *boarula*. The two former were considered to be identical with the common *alba* and *flava* of the Continent. Mr. Gould having investigated the matter with much attention, has proved that our species are distinct from those of the Continent, and has therefore named the British pied wagtail, *M. Yarrellii*, 'as a just tribute to the varied acquirements' of Mr. Yarrell as a naturalist. To the common yellow wagtail of this country, Mr. Yarrell very appropriately proposes the name of *M. Rayi*, after the pious and intelligent John Ray, by whom the species, to which his name is now attached, was first described. The pied wagtail (*M. Yarrellii*, *alba* of British authors) is distinguished from the continental and

true *M. alba*, by the following characteristics, which are quoted by Mr. Yarrell from an article communicated by Mr. Gould to the *Magazine of Natural History* :—

‘ The pied wagtail of England is somewhat more robust in form, and in its full summer dress has the whole of the head, chest, and back of a full deep jet black, while in the white wagtail (*M. alba*), at the same period, the throat and head alone are of this colour, the back, and the rest of the upper surface, being of a light ash grey. In winter, the two species more nearly assimilate in their colouring; and this circumstance has, doubtless, been the cause of their being hitherto considered as identical, the black back of *M. Yarrellii* being grey at this season, although never so light as in *M. alba*. An additional evidence of their being distinct (but which has, doubtless, contributed to the confusion) is, that the female of our pied wagtail never has the back black, as in the male, this part, even in summer, being dark grey, in which respect it closely resembles the other species.’—Vol. i., pp. 363, 364.

Mr. Yarrell, at p. 365, has given figures of the British species in summer and winter plumage, and at p. 369, similar figures of the continental white wagtail, which satisfactorily illustrate Mr. Gould's description. We fully anticipate that future investigations will lead to the discovery of the white wagtail in this country. It may probably have been confounded by many observers with the common species. A few specimens of the continental yellow wagtail (*M. flava*) have been met with in England, and were named by Mr. Gould, who regarded them as a new species, *M. neglecta*, an appellation which is now set aside. This species differs from our common yellow, or Ray's wagtail, (*M. Rayi*, *flava* of British authors,) ‘ by the white elongated line over the eyes and ear coverts, which appears to be permanent at all seasons, and by the grey head, which is more or less conspicuous, also, at all seasons, but particularly in summer. In Ray's wagtail, the line over the eye and ear coverts is yellow, and the head, I believe, invariably of the same colour as the back of the bird. The females of the two species most resemble each other.’

We have made these remarks on the distinction between the foreign and British species of *Motacilla*—hitherto confounded together—in the hopes of exciting the attention of our ornithological readers, as we doubt not, further observation will lead to additional discoveries, and, possibly, new species.

The pipits (*anthidæ*) are closely allied to the family last noticed, and conduct us to the true larks (*alauidæ*) which are arranged by Mr. Yarrell at the commencement of the tribe *conirostres*, or hard-billed birds. The species contained in this division of the *insessores* are distinguished by the conical form and great strength

of their beak. Their food consists principally of grain, for the consumption of which their strong bill is peculiarly adapted; some of the species, however, partially subsist upon insects, larvæ, &c. The typical family are the finches (*fringillidæ*), and the common house sparrow may be cited as a familiar example. Many of the conirostral birds, from their granivorous habits, are regarded as injurious to man, and, in consequence, a war of extermination is carried on against them. Like the blue-tits, the sparrows are 'anathematized' by the parish authorities, and churchwardens still offer rewards for their destruction. Rate-payers in vestry assembled are called upon to provide, at the same time, for the due support of the church, and for the speedy extinction of the feathered takers of tithe. We think, however, that it may be proved that the indiscriminate destruction of the *conirostres* is very injudicious. Mr. Yarrell states that—

'An extensive experiment appears to have been made in some of the agricultural districts on the Continent, the result of which has been the opinion that farmers do wrong in destroying rooks, jays, sparrows, and, indeed, birds in general, on their farms, particularly where there are orchards. In our own country, on some very large farms in Devonshire, the proprietors determined, a few summers ago, to try the result of offering a great reward for the heads of rooks, but the issue proved destructive to the farms, for nearly the whole of the crops failed for three successive years, and they have since been forced to import rooks and other birds to restock their farms with.'—Vol. ii., pp. 95, 96.

Rooks have long suffered persecution from the mistaken idea of the farmers, that 'protection to agriculture' rendered the destruction of these really useful birds necessary. That this idea—like other notions of the farmers about 'protection'—is really erroneous, has been proved by the facts stated in Mr. Yarrell's work, and by the testimony of Knapp, Waterton, Jesse, Selby, and of many other intelligent observers of the habits of birds. The usefulness of the rook consists in its devouring vast quantities of the larvæ of the cockchafer (*melolontha*), and of many other insects, which would otherwise, as, indeed, has been shewn by the experiments above cited, be of incalculable injury to the agriculturist. The wisest course for the farmer to pursue, is obviously to regard the rooks as his friends, and to content himself with guarding his fields from their attacks during the seed time, when his grain has been newly sown.

We have selected the rook as an example, and the remarks which have been made will apply, though less forcibly, to the other *conirostres*. The farmer may shoot the *fringillidæ*, because he sees them too busy in his corn-field; and although, by so doing, he may prevent some trifling immediate injury to his

crops, yet we much question the policy of his proceeding. Mr. Mudie remarks of the *conirostres*, that 'in such climates as that of England, their grand feeding time is in winter, because the fields are then covered with seeds, which are softened and sweetened by the action of the weather, but have not begun to sprout; and perhaps there is no race of wild animals so serviceable to cultivation in such climates as these birds. They come in vast crowds, and clear the stubble field of the seeds of weeds, which, if they were to spring up, as of course they would do, if not gathered by the birds, would completely choke the crops in the following season.'

The *conirostres* are the typical or most highly organized of the perching birds, and they appear to be also pre-eminent in amount of intelligence. In connexion with this fact, it is worthy of remark, that this tribe are possessed of a larger volume of brain, in proportion to their size, than the species of any of the other orders. The goldfinch (*carduelis elegans*) is remarkably docile, and its elegance of plumage and sprightly habits render it much prized as a cage bird. Mr. Yarrell remarks of these birds, that—

'They are taught, without much difficulty, to perform a variety of amusing tricks, such as to draw up water for themselves by a small thimble-sized bucket, or to raise the lid of a small box to obtain the seed within. Mr. Syme, in his History of British Song Birds, when speaking of the Sieur Roman, who some years since exhibited goldfinches, linnets, and canaries, wonderfully trained, relates, that one appeared dead, and was held up by the tail or claw without exhibiting any signs of life; a second stood on its head with its claws in the air; a third imitated a Dutch milk-maid going to market with pails on its shoulders; a fourth mimicked a Venetian girl looking out at a window; a fifth appeared as a soldier, and mounted guard as a sentinel; and the sixth acted as a cannoneer, with a cap on its head, a firelock on its shoulder, and a match in its claw, and discharged a small cannon. The same bird acted as if it had been wounded. It was wheeled in a barrow to convey it, as it were, to the hospital, after which, it flew away before the company. The seventh turned a kind of windmill; and the last bird stood in the midst of some fireworks which were discharged all round it, and this without exhibiting the least symptom of fear.'—Vol. i., pp. 491, 492.

The figure of the goldfinch (engraved by Thompson) is excellent, although not equal to that of the starling by the same artist. The latter species is, like its congeners, remarkably intelligent, and having 'a retentive memory and great flexibility of voice, the males are often kept in confinement, where they learn to whistle tunes, and imitate some of the various sounds of the human voice with facility and correctness.' Mr. Yarrell men-

tions at pp. 439—441 of vol. i., two remarkable instances of cunning displayed by the black-headed bunting. Our limits will not allow us to do more than to refer to these cases, one of which displays a considerable amount of sagacity. But the palm of intelligence must be awarded to the crow family (*corvidæ*), which, in cautious and secretive habits, retentive memory, powers of imitation, and in general rationality, have no superiors amongst the feathered tribes. Colonel Montagu relates many curious habits manifested by a specimen of Cornish chough (*fregilus graculus*), which he kept for some years in his garden. Its 'curiosity' was intense, leading it to pry into and examine everything with which it was not familiar. It manifested all the usual pilfering habits of the tribe, and the gardener's nail box was frequently robbed. When hungry, it tapped incessantly at the kitchen window until fed or let in. Although fond of caresses, and partial to those from whom kindness was experienced, the chough 'challenged strangers vociferously,' and approached them 'with daring impudence.' Mr. Yarrell quotes the following instances of sagacity in the rook (*corvus frugilegus*):—

'At an old mansion, not far from London, surrounded by a number of fine elms, a singular mark of the sagacity of rooks was recently observed. Many of these trees had become very old, and it was therefore determined to fell a few of them every year, and plant young ones in their place. The oldest of the trees were accordingly condemned to be felled, and a portion of the bark taken off to indicate those which were to come down. These trees were soon forsaken by the rooks, and it was subsequently observed, that immediately after any of the other elms were marked in a similar manner, the rooks at once forsook the trees, as if fully aware that the removal of the bark was a notice for them to quit.' Another instance is thus noticed:—'Mr. Wingate, steward to Mr. Templer, of Lindridge, remarked, in various years, that certain trees were not built upon by the rooks; if one nest were built, the others destroyed it; and he invariably found that such trees were decayed, and were generally blown down during some storm.'—Vol. ii., p. 93.

Mr. Yarrell adds, that he is 'disposed in these cases to believe that the age, or incipient decay of the trees, had produced its effect on the upper branches, and that the rooks found these twigs less fit for their purpose than those of more healthy trees which were close by.' As far as regards the *latter case*, we think Mr. Yarrell's explanation is satisfactory; but in the former account it is stated, that '*immediately after any* of the other elms were marked, the rooks *at once* forsook the trees.' Now we cannot regard it as probable, that in *every case*, 'immediately' after the process of marking, the rooks should 'at once' discover that the 'upper branches' of the trees were decayed, and desert them

in consequence. We are inclined to think, therefore, if the account may be relied upon, that Mr. Yarrell has done injustice to the sagacity of the rooks; and considering the acknowledged powers of intelligence which these birds manifest, we see no difficulty in believing that the observation of the invariable result, following the peculiar marking of certain trees, might lead the rooks to regard the 'removal of the bark as a notice to quit.' Mr. Yarrell seems to believe that the habit of the hooded crow, which soars into the air with a cockle or mussel in its bill, and then drops it upon the rock in order to obtain the enclosed mollusc, may be 'referred to knowledge, gained by experience' (ii. p. 84); and why should not the habits of the rooks be referred to the same cause? The jay (*garrulus glandarius*), like the other *corvidæ*, is remarkable for its powers of imitation. It has been known to imitate the bleating of a lamb, the mewing of a cat, the barking of a dog, the neighing of a horse, and many other sounds, in the most admirable manner; so that, in some instances, the imitations 'could not be distinguished from the original.' In the account of the raven, Mr. Yarrell has introduced an interesting dissertation on the powers of voice possessed by various birds considered in relation to the structure of their windpipes or tracheæ. Of these organs several figures are given at pp. 69, 72, 74, and 76 of the second volume. The engravings of the raven and of the rook are inferior, both in character and execution, and are not to be compared with the figure of the carrion crow, which is one of Mr. Thompson's happiest efforts. It is but justice to that artist to remark, that his engravings are, in most cases, decidedly superior to the other illustrations of Mr. Yarrell's work.

We had intended to have noticed, before leaving the *conirostres*, the structure of the beak of the crossbills (*loxia*), which has been impiously termed by Buffon, 'an error of nature and a useless deformity,' but we cannot do more than recommend to our readers the admirable description of this remarkable structure which is given at vol. ii. pp. 27—33, where Mr. Yarrell clearly proves this 'useless deformity' to be of the highest importance in the economy of the *loxia*.

The next tribe (*scansores*, or climbers) commences with the woodpeckers (*picidæ*), the habits of which we have partially described on a recent occasion. The *scansores* also include the families *certhiæ* (creepers) and *cuculidæ* (cuckoos).

The tribe *fissirostres* is composed of insectivorous birds which capture their prey upon the wing. In order that this may be accomplished with facility, they are provided with great width of gape, and their powers of flight are pre-eminent,—the feet, not

being of so much importance in their habits, are slightly developed. The swallows (*hirundinidæ*) which during the day sweep the air in search of food, and the night-jars (*caprimulgidæ*) which, in like manner, 'prey upon night-flying insects, may be instanced as familiar examples of this tribe.' 'The swallow,' says Sir Humphrey Davy, in his *Salmonia*, 'is one of my favourite birds, and a rival of the nightingale; for he cheers my sense of seeing as much as the other does my sense of hearing. He is the glad prophet of the year—the harbinger of the best season; he lives a life of enjoyment amongst the loveliest forms of nature; winter is unknown to him, and he leaves the green meadows of England in autumn, for the myrtle and orange groves of Italy, and for the palms of Africa.' The habits of the *hirundines* are not only elegant and pleasing, but exceedingly useful, and it is with pain, therefore, that we often witness the havoc which is committed amongst them by thoughtless and cruel marksmen. The Rev. W. T. Bree, in the second volume of *The Naturalist*, states his opinion that the swallows, and more especially the swifts, are diminishing everywhere, and he asks, 'may not this be owing to their wanton destruction?'

The common night-jar (*C. Europæus*), of which a very spirited engraving is given at p. 242 of the second volume, is the only species of the *caprimulgidæ* found in this kingdom. Its food consists of cockchaffers (*melolontha*) and moths, which it captures on the wing during the hours of twilight. The mouth of this bird is surrounded by bristles, which are of much assistance in securing the prey upon which it subsists. The claw of the middle toe is 'flattened and dilated on the inner edge, and the margin is divided so as to form a small comb of seven or eight teeth.' White, in his *Natural History of Selborne*, records that he had observed, with much interest, the night-jar, when on the wing, more than once put out its short leg and by a bend of the head deliver something into his mouth. He was inclined to believe that the bird, on these occasions, captured its prey by the foot, and that the serrated claw assisted in securing the insects. This opinion is confirmed by Mr. Atkinson, who, in his *Compendium*, states that he has witnessed the night-jar take moths and beetles by its foot, and convey them to its mouth with 'great deliberation.' Other writers have held different opinions with reference to the use of the serrated claw, namely, that it is 'to comb out the hairs set along the upper edge of the mouth on each side, or to clear the delicate edges and angles of the mouth from the sharp hooks on the legs of insects, while some have supposed that they are supplied to rid the birds of vermin.' Mr. Yarrell does not state his own opinion; and we think further observation

necessary before the point can be satisfactorily determined. Vignettes of the rectal bristles, and of the pectinated claw of the night-jar are given at vol. ii. p. 248.

We have now arrived at the order *Rasores*, of which our domesticated fowl may be instanced as a familiar example. The birds of this order are heavy and terrestrial, possessing limited powers of flight, and feeding almost entirely upon the ground. The feet are consequently adapted, in an especial manner, for walking, being strong and robust; the hind toe is elevated, and in some species is very small or entirely wanting. The bill is short and strong. The food of rasorial birds consists of various kinds of grain; their habits are inoffensive; they are easily domesticated; and their flesh and eggs are savoury and nutritious. Some of the species stock our farm-yards; and others are kept in the parks and the grounds of the rich, where they are jealously guarded by game-laws and game-keepers.

At the commencement of the order are arranged the pigeons (*columbidæ*), which, in many respects, are closely allied to the *insessores*. Their powers of flight are much greater than those of the true *rasores*, from which the pigeons also differ in their arboreal habits; in the state of the young at birth; in the position of the hind toe, which is placed on the same level as the fore toes; in their being uniformly monogamous; and in several other important particulars. Some naturalists, in consequence of these peculiarities of structure and habits, have regarded the *columbidæ* as belonging to the *insessores*, rather than to the *rasores*, in which order they have been arranged by Cuvier, Selby, Swainson, Yarrell, &c. Other authors have contended that the pigeons should constitute a distinct order, and we are inclined to concur in this opinion. That some of the species very closely approximate to the true *rasores* can be no reason why a group, whose *typical* characteristics are so peculiar and so evidently distinct, should be incongruously arranged as a minor division of an order with which it has scarcely any points in common. We are willing to pay every deference to Cuvier's opinion; but we cannot avoid thinking that Mr. Swainson and the other *quinary* authors have classed the *columbidæ* with the *rasores*, in order to meet the requirements of their system, which would not allow of six primary divisions of the feathered creation. Our limits will not permit us to enter more fully into the question, upon which some very interesting and important observations, by Mr. Thomas Allis, will be found at p. 57 of the second volume of *The Naturalist*.

It will be unnecessary to occupy much space in describing the habits of the *columbidæ*, with which our readers must be well acquainted. Since the time of the flood, when the dove returned

to the ark with the welcome olive branch in its mouth, it has been regarded as an emblem of peace ; a character well sustained by the gentle and tender habits of its race. In Russia the dove is esteemed sacred, and is termed ' God's bird,' from the circumstance of the Holy Spirit assuming that form ; and the Russians regard the killing of a dove as an act of the greatest impiety.

The many remarkable varieties which are kept by pigeon-fanciers, are descended from the rock dove (*C. livia*). Mr. Yarrell remarks that—

' One of the first consequences of domestication, it is well known, is the production of various colours, generally, however, retaining some indication of the original race, or reproducing some of the original traits, if selection be not attended to. The numerous and remarkable varieties among what are called fancy pigeons, however first established, are now maintained and perpetuated by selection and restriction, and some of them are among the most curious of zoological results.'—Vol. ii. p. 263.

The ' jacobins,' ' broad-tailed shakers,' ' tumblers,' ' carriers,' &c., are surprising instances of the varieties which have been produced and perpetuated from the original stock. The powers of flight possessed by carrier pigeons are universally known. Mr. Yarrell mentions that in 1833 twenty-four carriers were sent off from Rouen, whither they had been conveyed from Ghent. The distance, which in a straight line is about one hundred and fifty miles, was traversed by one pigeon in an hour and a half; sixteen arrived in two hours and a half; three in the course of the day, and four were lost. Trained carrier pigeons have often been used to communicate tidings of important events both in war and in commerce.

Dr. Fleming, in his *History of British Animals*, records the occurrence, in Fifeshire, of a single specimen of the passenger or migratory pigeon (*C. migratoria*), and it is consequently entered in the British Fauna. The habits of this species are very astonishing, and have been well described by Alexander Wilson. In America, the passenger pigeons associate together during the period of incubation, and in their migrations, in such vast multitudes as almost to exceed belief. In the breeding season these birds select a tract of country extending for several miles, the trees of which they cover with their nests; and the woods are literally thronged with pigeons, so much so that in many cases the branches of the trees are broken down with the weight of the clustering multitudes. One of these roosting places in the state of Kentucky extended forty miles, and was several miles in breadth! On a single tree there are sometimes one hundred nests, each of which invariably contains only one young pigeon.

Wilson states that when these roosts are first discovered, people from considerable distances visit them in the night with guns, clubs, long poles, pots of sulphur, and various other engines of destruction. In a few hours they fill many sacks, and load their horses with them. The young are very fat, and are highly esteemed as delicacies for the table. During their migrations the flocks of this species are immense, and have no parallel amongst the feathered tribes. Wilson noticed, in passing between Frankfort and the Indiana territory, a very extensive flock of the migrating pigeon, and he remarks that 'if we suppose this column to have been one mile in breadth (and I believe it to have been much more), and that it moved at the rate of one mile in a minute, four hours, the time it continued passing, would make its whole length two hundred and forty miles. Again, supposing that each square yard of this moving body comprehended three pigeons, the square yards in the whole space multiplied by three, would give two thousand two hundred and thirty millions, two hundred and seventy two thousand pigeons! an almost inconceivable multitude, and yet probably far below the actual amount. Heaven has wisely and graciously given to these birds rapidity of flight and a disposition to range over vast uncultivated tracts of the earth, otherwise they must have perished in the districts where they resided, or devoured up the whole productions of agriculture, as well as those of the forests.'

The *true* rasorial birds of Great Britain belong to the families *phasianidæ* (of which the common pheasant is the only British example,) *tetraonidæ* (grouse), and *struthionidæ* (bustards). Our space will not allow us to give even a brief analysis of these families; we must not, however, omit noticing an interesting fact, stated by Mr. Yarrell, respecting the common quail (*coturnix dactylisonans*). This species appears to be identical with the *tetrao Israelitarum*, 'of whose instinct it pleased the Divinity to avail himself in supplying the famishing Israelites with food in the wilderness.' Mr. Yarrell adduces the following facts in support of his opinion:—

'Bochart and Dr. Harris state that the Hebrew word used is *selav*, in Arabic *selwee*, or *selvai* (a quail), which is constantly rendered by the Septuagint ὀρνυγομήτρα, a large kind of quail. Aristotle, indeed, calls the rail (*rallus* and *crex*) *ortygometra*; but on the whole, it is to be inferred from Bochart, that the Greeks used the word rather to indicate the size of the ὀρνυξ, than as descriptive of a different *bird*; and Josephus considers ὀρνυγομήτρα and ὀρνυξ synonymous, and states that *quails* abound on the gulf of the Red Sea; and we know that they abound in Egypt, Barbary, Asia Minor, and at certain seasons in Europe at the present day.

'There is another mode to connect the bird of Scripture with the

coturnix dactylisonans, and this is readily done by the simple fact of its being the only species of quail that migrates in multitudes; indeed we have not any satisfactory account that any other species of *quail* is migratory. Aristotle mentions the habit; and Pliny states they sometimes alight on vessels in the Mediterranean, and sink them!—Vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

Mr. Yarrell also adduces the testimonies of Belon, Buffon, Tournefort, Temminck, &c., with reference to the migratory habits of the quail, and he adds that

‘With these facts before us, considering the positive testimony of the Psalmist [Ps. lxxviii. 26, 27, 28, 29], that the unexpected supply of food to the Israelites was a *bird*, and that *bird*, agreeably to the Septuagint and Josephus, a *quail*, that only one species of quail migrates in prodigious numbers, and that species the subject of the present notice, we are authorized to pronounce the *coturnix dactylisonans* to be the identical species with which the Israelites were fed. We have here proof of the perpetuation of an instinct through 3300 years, not pervading a whole species, but that part of a species existing within certain geographical limits; an instinct characterized by a peculiarity which modern observers have also noticed, of making their migratory flight by night. ‘And it came to pass, that at even, the quails came up and covered the camp.’ As might have been expected, we see the most ancient of all historical works and natural history reflecting attesting lights on each other.’—Vol. ii. p. 360.

When Mr. Yarrell's *History* is completed, we may probably continue our analysis, and notice the remaining orders, which include the wading birds (*grallatores*) and swimming birds (*natatores*). For the present we take our leave of Mr. Yarrell, whose work is alike creditable to the author, the artists, and the enterprising publisher.

Art. III. *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral, and Political Respects.* By Count Valerian Krasinski. Vol. II. London: Murray.

WE owe an apology to Count Krasinski for having so long permitted this volume to escape attention. We regret our oversight the more from the admirable character of the volume itself, and the painfully interesting circumstances under which it has been produced. An exile from the land of his fathers, deeply alive to all which affects its welfare, intimately acquainted with its history, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of evangelical truth, the noble author has here sought to lay open the source of

his country's ruin, and to reveal to the English public the chicanery and violence by which the papacy has achieved a triumph in Poland on the ruins of religious freedom and national existence. We have reason to believe that it was the intention of Count Krasinski to devote the remainder of his life to an elucidation of the history and principles, the essential immutability and superficial variations of popery, and that the work now before us is the first fruit of such intention. To those who are acquainted with the author, and sympathize with his views, it will appear eminently desirable that he should prosecute his design; and we shall deeply regret if, as we have recently heard, the necessities of his position should compel him to relinquish it. His acquaintance with several European languages, and thorough knowledge of some points of history not usually included within the range of English study, peculiarly qualify him for the task, and lead us to hope that he may yet be able to adhere to his original purpose.

There never was a time when the popish controversy required a more thorough preparation on the part of protestant advocates. The sciolist and the pretender will only do injury by engaging in it, for their inaccuracies will speedily be detected, and their arrogance and blunders will be used as so many missiles against the faith which they have presumptuously undertaken to defend. The advocates of the papacy are learned in that species of lore which the case specially requires, and are eminently dexterous in its use. Unscrupulous and determined, they distort history to serve their party purpose, and readily avail themselves of every occasion which the presumption and ignorance of their opponents furnish, to misrepresent our views or to conceal the enormity of their own. Many of our would-be-champions are therefore easily defeated, and we should not much care about the matter if their defeat terminated on themselves. This, however, is not the case. The public, who witness the failure, regard the blow as falling not so much upon the advocate as upon the cause which he espouses, and their confidence in protestantism is thus shaken, and a state of feeling is induced favourable to the designs of its opponents.

Moreover, it has happened in too many cases that the struggle has been regarded as a contest between two churches equally intolerant and rapacious, alike regardless of the rights of others, contemptuously indifferent to the spiritual welfare of mankind, and intent only on the promotion of their own secular interests. We cannot wonder at this, however we may regret it. The position of the English church, considered as a protestant body, is a false one, and the fact is becoming daily more obvious. The tithe crusades of Ireland, and the church-rate distrains and im-

prisonments of England have broken the spell of her sanctity, and are working—fast working—into the hearts of our people, the conviction that she is part and parcel of that system of abomination over which the ‘Man of Sin’ presides; and is, therefore utterly unfit to carry to a successful issue the impending struggle between spiritual despotism and the freedom and purity of the church of God. This state of things has not been unperceived by catholic writers. It has given them great advantage, which they have improved with their usual sagacity and tact. The charge of intolerance has been retorted upon the protestant church, and the liberal politics of the catholics of Ireland have been triumphantly contrasted with the rampant toryism of the English clergy. The result of all this has been a mighty—though for a season, an unrecognised—revolution in the feelings of the English public. A local and accidental circumstance has overruled a general fact; the exception has been substituted for the rule; and even where this has not been entirely accomplished, where protestantism has still been loved and cherished for its scriptural character and religious fruits, yet our people have failed to realize the inherent sympathy of popery with civil tyranny and religious persecution. The speeches of O’Connell, breathing as they do the very spirit of religious liberty, outstripping in the clearness of their statements and the force of their logic most of the protestant advocates by whom he is surrounded, are amongst the marvels of the day. Yet the marvellous in them admits of easy solution. They are but the utterances of a people, the natural tendencies of whose creed have been checked by the presence of an unscrupulous and grasping church. In the school of persecution even the catholics of Ireland have been taught the language of religious liberty.

We look to the dissenters of Great Britain for the remedy of these evils, in order to which, it is necessary that they should address themselves with earnestness to the deep study of this great question. This should be done promptly, and in a spirit of zealous consecration. The attainments of the last generation will not meet the requirements of the present day. Our men must be more deeply read in the history and literature of the controversy, must be more thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of the system, and be better prepared to meet the varying and insidious aspects under which the popish faith is presented to our protestant countrymen. We would especially commend to the attention of our dissenting readers the comparative effects of romanism and protestantism on the civilization, political institutes, and social habits of nations. Let them guard against hasty generalizations, but seeking to take in the whole compass of modern history, let their conclusions be founded on a calm survey of its record. The character of the work before us, and

its obvious tendency to aid such an investigation, must be our apology for having detained our readers with these preliminary remarks.

In our notice of Count Krasinski's former volume, we recorded our high estimate of its worth, and are glad to be able, in still stronger terms, to repeat, on the present occasion, the same judgment. The work is now before us in its complete form, and we have no hesitation in affirming, that it constitutes a valuable addition to our ecclesiastical literature. Its style and general temper partake of a foreign complexion, though the construction and idiomatic peculiarities of our language are preserved with singular felicity. It is rarely that we meet with a work from a foreign author in which this is effected to so happy an extent.

The volume commences with the interregnum which followed the death of Sigismund Augustus, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Poland was at this time divided into several religious parties, each of which was anxious to secure the election of a monarch favourable to its own views. The Roman Catholics had an able leader in Cardinal Commendoni, whose object was to secure the vacant throne to the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian the Second. For this purpose, he entered into a secret convention with some Polish grandees, which, if carried out, would have involved the country in a religious and civil war. The archduke was, in the first place, to be elected grand duke of Lithuania, 'after which, he was to levy an army of 24,000 men, in order, if necessary, to compel the senate of Poland' to choose him as their monarch. Against this confederacy, which threatened the political, as well as the religious liberties of the country, the protestants were prevented from making an effectual stand by the divisions which existed amongst them. Some of the leading Lutherans, apprehensive of the ultimate triumph of the Helvetian church in Poland, joined the Romanists, but the scheme, though hopeful for a time, was ultimately frustrated by the prudence of the emperor, and the subsequent course of events. The protestant party under Coligny, enjoyed at this period temporary influence at the French court, and a plan was devised to secure the Polish crown for Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou. In the meantime, the cause of religious liberty gained a signal triumph in the diet which assembled at Warsaw, January 6, 1573.

'The first and the most important object of that Diet was, to settle in a peaceful manner the differences between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The clergy, who saw the impossibility of crushing their opponents, and even the danger to which they were themselves exposed, were the first to propose such a measure. Karn-

kowski, Bishop of Cujavia, composed the articles, in which he ensured a perfect equality of rights and privileges to all the Christian professions in Poland. The same act guaranteed the dignities, rights, and privileges of the Roman-catholic bishops, but abolished the obligation of the church patrons to bestow the benefices in their gift exclusively to Roman-catholic clergymen. This wise act was, however, disgraced by an article which ensured to the landowners a perfect authority over their subjects, even in matters of religion.

‘ This remarkable transaction gave to the Protestants a legal existence in Poland, because the former enactments, although they gave them a complete freedom, did not grant them that perfect equality with the Roman-catholic church which they now acquired; but the article which confirmed and extended the power of the land-owners over the peasants, may be considered as a most deplorable event in the Polish history. It was undoubtedly brought about by the troubles which the blind zeal of some reformers had excited in Germany, and the report of which was industriously circulated and magnified by the Romanist party. Its effect was particularly injurious to the progress of the Reformation, as it estranged from it the inferior classes of society, and prevented it from taking a deep root in the national mind.’—pp. 11—13.

We cannot stop to trace the intrigues which secured the final triumph of the French prince in Poland. The policy of that court was conducted with inimitable skill, and Henry, in consequence, arrived in Poland on the 25th January, 1574. He had previously confirmed by oath the religious liberties of the country, yet the Protestants had little faith in his word, and resolved jealously to watch his movements. It was well that they did so, as the sequel showed. It was the policy of Henry and of his Romanist advisers to evade, at his coronation, a repetition of the Paris oath, guaranteeing the religious liberty of the Protestants. Firley, as leader of the Protestants, insisted on the oath being repeated, whilst the king, not daring openly to refuse, sought to delude them with vague and general promises. The decision and intrepidity of the grand marshal, and of his co-adjutor, Dembinski, at length wrung from him the required pledge.

‘ When the ceremony of the coronation was proceeding, and its final act, the placing of the crown on the head of the monarch, was about to be performed, Firley, seeing that no oath to the Protestants was taken, interrupted the solemnity, declaring that, unless the above-mentioned oath was pronounced, he would not permit the coronation to proceed. He and Dembinski, grand chancellor of Poland, who was also a Protestant, presented to the monarch, who was kneeling on the steps of the altar, a scroll containing the oath he had sworn at Paris. This boldness terrified the monarch, who rose from the place where he was kneeling. The by-standers were mute with astonishment;

but Firley took the crown, and said in a loud voice, '*Si non jurabis, non regnabis.*' This bold step created great confusion; the Romanists were terror-struck, and dared not to oppose the high-minded palatine of Cracow, who remained firm, although some Protestants, as Zborowski and Radziwill, began to waver. The king was obliged fully to repeat his oath of Paris, and the generous act of Firley ensured the triumph of the cause of religious liberty.'—pp. 41, 42.

The reign of Henry of Valois lasted only four months, and was terminated by a hasty and secret departure on intelligence being received of the death of his brother, Charles the Ninth, of France. Advantage was taken of the interregnum which followed, to secure a confirmation of the religious rights guaranteed by the confederation of January, 1573, and all who should infringe such rights were declared to be punishable with loss of civil and political privileges. Taught by recent and bitter experience, the Protestants now resolved, if possible, to secure the throne to one of their own body, or at least to one favourable to their creed. With this view, they looked to Stephen Battory, Duke of Transylvania, to whom the crown was offered, on condition of his marrying the Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus. Battory agreed to the condition, and the Protestants exulted in the prospect of his election, as a pledge of their own security and of the triumph of their faith. 'The election of a Protestant to the throne of Poland seemed to ensure the final triumph of the Protestant cause in that country; but the Romanist clergy who saw their danger, despatched Solikowski, a clergyman of eminent talent and learning, in order to gain over the new monarch to their party.'

Solikowski was completely successful in his mission, so little reliance is to be placed on the religious professions of political men. The envoy had to contend with great difficulties, but having obtained a night interview with the monarch, he secured his adhesion to the Catholic party.

'This interview was fatal to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, because Solikowski succeeded, by his arguments, in persuading Battory that he had no chance of maintaining himself on the throne of Poland, unless he would make a public profession of Romanism. Solikowski's arguments were supported by the consideration that the princess Anna, being a bigoted Romanist, would never have accepted of a Protestant husband. Battory was weak enough to listen to those arguments; and on the next day, the Protestant delegates beheld with dismay the monarch on whom they had founded the final triumph of their cause, devotedly kneeling at the mass. This act reanimated the hope of the Romanists, who considered otherwise their cause as ruined in Poland.

'Battory confirmed without the least hesitation the liberties of the

anti-Romanist confessions; but although he had no inclination to persecute those confessions, the prospects of the Reformation were entirely obscured by his submission to Rome.'—pp. 47, 48.

The influence of the Jesuits in Poland was established during the reign of Stephen Battory, who at once, and with singular inconsistency, cordially maintained the laws, guaranteeing to the Protestants their religious liberty, and patronised the class who were the bitterest and most able advocates of intolerance and persecution. When the former appealed to the monarch for protection from the persecutions excited by the latter, he promptly interposed on their behalf, maintaining that, 'wherever religion was supported by fire and sword, and not by doctrine and good conduct, it always led to internal commotions and domestic war. That God himself predicted the coming of scandals and heresies, that he did not wish to coerce any man's conscience, which he left to the judgment of God, and that, fulfilling the conditions he had sworn, he would protect the Protestants whose liberties were secured by the laws of the country. Thus 'this great monarch,' as our author remarks, 'endeavoured to prevent the consequences of his own work, we mean the patronage he bestowed on the Jesuits, who were the principal instigators of all the above-mentioned religious troubles. But although his strong hand succeeded in repressing the deplorable effects of a cause which he had himself created, the control which was exercised over that dangerous order ceased with his life, and its pernicious influences increased during the subsequent reign in rapid progression.'

Battory was succeeded by Sigismund the Third, a bigoted Romanist, under whose reign the seed sown by his predecessor, bore ample fruit. His ecclesiastical policy, and the results which flowed from it, are thus described by Count Krasinski:—

'The election of such a monarch was ominous to the Protestant cause in Poland, already endangered by the lamentable partiality which Stephen Battory had shewn to the Jesuits, and the Romanist re-action, beginning under his reign, had been chiefly promoted by the schools which that order was everywhere establishing. If the Romanist re-action succeeded in making such progress under the reign of a monarch anxious to maintain the liberties of the nation, what could it not expect from the blind zeal of the bigoted Sigismund the Third? The long reign of that infatuated sovereign, 1587—1632, presents one uniform system of policy,—this, namely, the promotion of the supremacy of Rome in all the foreign and domestic relations of Poland, in utter disregard of the interests of the nation. This deplorable system undermined the welfare of Poland, and planted the seeds of all the evils which caused the decline and fall of that unfortunate country. The anti-Romanist party was still sufficiently strong

to render unsafe all attempts at open persecution, which, moreover, were prohibited by the laws of the country. Sigismund, therefore, guided by the advice of his Jesuit counsellors, tried, and with lamentable success, to obtain by corruption what he dared not effect by oppression. Although the authority of the monarch was in many respects limited, yet had he the distribution of honours and riches, and he made it a point never to bestow either, unless forced by circumstances, except on Romanists, and among these, most lavishly on proselytes whom interest had converted, though argument left them unconvinced: following this line of policy during a reign of forty-five years, he left in the senate, which at the death of Sigismund Augustus was almost entirely composed of anti-Romanists, but two Protestants. Considering human frailty, and the great influence which motives of ambition and avarice frequently exercise over the upper classes of society, we must rather lament than wonder at this event, especially if we consider that under the short reign of James the Second, a monarch possessed much less of the arts and means of seduction than Sigismund the Third, and in a Protestant country such as England, several persons were induced to abandon their creed, in order to gain the favour of the sovereign by conforming to his religion. Another means employed by the king to exterminate the anti-Romanist party, was to leave unpunished all the aggressions made on them in open breach of law. Thus, by ensuring impunity for crimes which deserved capital punishment, he accustomed the nation to contempt of the law, by which he undermined the very foundation of the social edifice, and sowed the seeds of future anarchy and disorder.'—pp. 92—95.

This state of things was fearfully ominous to the Protestant cause, the danger of which was not diminished by the internal condition of its disciples. Instead of uniting to oppose the Romanist reaction, they were torn by intestine divisions, and regarded each other with the bitterness and rancour of theological polemics. The bigotry and intolerance of the Lutherans on the one side, and the daring speculations of the Unitarians on the other, did equal damage to a cause which required the combined energy and enlightened service of all. It is melancholy to reflect on the injury which has been done to the truth of God by the misconceptions, prejudices, and bad passions of its professed friends. The history of Lutheranism affords many illustrations of this; none, perhaps, more instructive than those which occur in the annals of Poland. The union of Sandomir promised, for a time, to heal the divisions existing amongst the leading protestant sects, while the synod of Thorn, convened in August, 1595, evinced the possibility of yet warding off the dangers which thickened around them. All that was wanting to success, was a better temper in the men themselves, a more scrupulous regard to what was due to others, a more scriptural

estimate of their spiritual vocation, and of the limits within which its functions and privileges were confined. These things, however, were wanting, and the consequence is seen in the ecclesiastical statistics of Poland at this day.

The civil war of 1606-8, which was partly political and partly religious, proved injurious to the Protestant cause by weakening many of its friends, and by throwing additional power into the hands of the king. The laws were yet in their favour, but the executive was against them, and they were subjected in consequence to a thousand annoyances. 'The party of reaction being unable to bring any legal measures to bear against them, pursued a system of local persecution, which, although committed in open breach of the laws, was sure to be sheltered from punishment by the favour of the monarch.'

Sigismund was succeeded by his eldest son, Vladislav the Fourth, whose character was entirely the reverse of his father's. He unhesitatingly confirmed all the religious and political rights of the nation, and held out to its discordant sects the prospect of tranquillity and equal protection.

'Vladislav's mind was enlightened by considerable instruction, which, with his experience of the evils drawn down on the kingdom by the bigotry of his father, rendered the counsellors who had directed his father so distasteful to him, that he would not admit any Jesuit to his court. His naturally benevolent disposition and upright character made him loathe persecution and every deviation from conduct strictly honourable. We must not omit mentioning the noble answer which he gave to Prince Radziwill, chancellor of Lithuania, who advised him not to attach any real importance to the promises given to the anti-Romanist confessions, 'What I promise with my lips I shall fulfil by my actions.'

'Such conduct gave rise to a suspicion that he was inclined towards Protestantism. We are unable to decide whether this suspicion had any grounds or not; but, certainly, to be just and impartial was quite enough to suggest such a surmise to a party accustomed to the blind devotion with which Sigismund the Third promoted their interests on every occasion. Whatever may have been the internal convictions of Vladislav, certain it is that difference of religion had no influence on his mind; and he distributed charges and offices without any regard to the persuasion of the individual. He even accepted, as Sigismund Augustus had done, the dedication of a Protestant Bible, which was addressed to him by Prince Christopher Radziwill, immediately after his election.'—pp. 219, 220.

The tolerant spirit of this monarch was not, however, shared by the Catholic clergy, whose primate interdicted the circulation of the Protestant Scriptures. His prohibition was approved by the Synod of Warsaw in 1634, which declared that 'the doctrine which allowed every Christian to search the Scriptures, was

introduced by Satan himself.' The pope confirmed the resolution of the synod, and the general tone of the popular mind had become so prejudiced against the Protestant professions, that the property and persons of their members were frequently exposed to the violence of infuriated mobs. The influence of the Jesuits had diffused throughout the country a spirit of bitter hostility towards them, which evinced itself in acts of brutal violence. The students of the university of Cracow were foremost in these disgraceful outrages, and were, on most occasions, screened by the authorities from the punishment which they merited. The following may be taken as an example of what frequently occurred:—

'A Protestant lady having died, her friends apprehending an attack from the students, requested Princess Radziwill, who belonged to the same communion, to lend her carriage to take the body secretly to a place, where its burial might be performed in safety from Romanist profanation. This request was readily granted: but the students having been informed of it, stopped the carriage, took the body out of the coffin, and threw it into the mud. This insult, however, did not satisfy the rage of these wretches; they put back the body into the coffin, bound it with a chain, and carried it about the streets, pelting it with stones, amidst savage yells, and indecent songs. This scandalous scene created different impressions upon the spectators: there were some who approved of it; but many were so shocked by the scandal that they shed tears. The rector of the university, Naymanowicz, is said to have witnessed this shameful action without interfering; perhaps, because he felt that his authority would be disregarded by the fanatical rabble which disgraced the learned institution over which he presided. The students, after having inflicted every kind of insult on the body, threw it into the river; but the friends of the deceased recovered it, and committed it to the grave. This enormity excited strong indignation amongst many persons, and the king ordered that justice should be done on the disturbers of the public peace. Three of the principal leaders of the riot were discovered; but the rector of the university succeeded in screening them from punishment, except one, called Valentin Iskra, who was notorious for violence, and was convicted of having insulted the dead body, and of being the author of all the riots. He was condemned to death, and the king confirmed the sentence; but the felon found many influential patrons, and the Protestants being threatened with vengeance in case he should be beheaded, did not press the execution of the sentence. Iskra was pardoned, and six professors gave, in the name of the university, security for his good behaviour.

'On August 15th, 1641, the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, fifteen pilgrims to the Mount of Calvary, after having performed their devotions, resolved to complete the pious occupation of the day by pillaging heretics. They invaded the house of a Protestant named Kolay, who lived at Chalowice, a neighbouring village, bound all the servants, and endeavoured to compel Kolay and his wife, by

threats of murdering them, to give up their money. These felons stole everything which they could lay hold of, avowing that they did it in order to avenge the true religion on heretics. Some accident, however, which induced them to retreat hastily for fear of being surprised, prevented them from putting their threats into execution. Several things which, in their precipitation, they forgot to carry away, proved that those pilgrims were students of the university. They were discovered and prosecuted before the criminal court of Cracow. The students did not deny their actions, but justified them; maintaining that it was a duty to destroy Protestants: they said that the clergy permitted and approved of such proceedings, and that without similar persecutions, heresy would become victorious, and the Roman Catholics be defeated. They even cited Scripture to prove that the slaughter of heretics was commanded by God, and quoted the ancient laws of the country against seceders from the Roman-catholic church. They put forward in their defence the excesses committed by the students at Poznań, Lublin, and Vilna, which remained unpunished. Their arguments, however, proved unavailing; and perhaps this open and frank avowal of their principles was too premature for the designs of the leaders of the Romanist re-action; they were condemned to death, and, notwithstanding the clamours of many zealous Romanists, who considered them martyrs to the good cause, were executed.'—pp. 226—229.

The death of Vladislav made way for the accession of his brother, John Casimir, in 1648. This monarch, successively a Jesuit and a cardinal, brought with him to the throne much of the spirit which had animated his previous career. Protestantism was in consequence discouraged, and its abettors were subjected to every form of annoyance and persecution. Their schools were closed, their places of worship pillaged, and their lives frequently exposed to imminent peril. 'In short,' remarks Count Krasinski, 'this reign was so fatal to the Protestant cause in Poland, that since that time it may be considered as having been utterly destroyed.' Their numbers were still considerable, and the laws promised them protection, but their rights 'were only nominal, and their confirmation a solemn mockery.' To such extent had a Romanist reaction taken place, that in 1668 a law was passed, prohibiting, under severe penalties, Catholics from becoming Protestants.

'The cause of the Reformation in Poland,' our author remarks, 'was entirely crushed during the reign of John Casimir, and though there were still many Protestants in that country, Protestantism itself had ceased to be an element of national life. Everything was placed under the control and influence of the Romanists, who, with the adroit policy peculiar to them, succeeded in representing their antagonists as the enemies of the country. At the diet of election in 1669, the Protestants failed not to represent their grievances, and to demand

the strict maintenance of the laws which guaranteed religious freedom to all citizens. Although Wierzbowski, Bishop of Poznan, at the instigation of the papal nuncio, pronounced in the cathedral church of Warsaw an anathema against heretics, declaring them unworthy of the protection of the law, and ordering their expulsion from the province of Mazovia, the diet as usual confirmed the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions—a confirmation which experience showed to be nothing better than an unmeaning formality. It enacted, however, a new law, by which the progress of Protestantism was rendered impossible, as it prohibited the abjuration of Romanism under the penalty of death or banishment. The same diet enacted that the kings of Poland should be Roman Catholics, a condition which, although rendered indispensable by circumstances, was, for the first time, converted into a law.—pp. 410, 411.

Our space prevents our entering into a consideration of the influence of Unitarianism on the fortunes of Poland. Count Krasinski has furnished much information on this point, to which we can do little more than direct the attention of our readers. Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland in 1579, and became united by marriage to some of the first families in the country. The anti-evangelical doctrines which he reduced to a system obtained, in consequence of his influence and talents, extensive currency, and produced divisions which operated seriously to the detriment of protestantism. The school of Rakow was the chief head of Polish Socinianism, which prevailed greatly between the years 1585 and 1638. Their subsequent history was one of bitter persecution, and is briefly told.

‘The diet enacted a law, by which it was forbidden, under the severest penalties, to profess or propagate Socinianism in the Polish dominions; and all those who did so, or in any way favoured that profession, were threatened with the immediate punishment of death. There was granted, however, to those who should persevere in that sect, a term of three years for the sale of their property and the recovery of their dues. Perfect security was promised to them during that term, but the exercise of their religion was prohibited, and they were not allowed to take any part in the affairs of the country. This enactment was not based on political considerations, neither did it impute to the Socinians any act of treason, but it was entirely founded on theological grounds, and chiefly on the fact that they did not admit the pre-eternity of Jesus Christ. A rather odd reason in a country where Jews were tolerated and Mahometans admitted to all the rights of other citizens.

‘The term of three years granted to the Socinians by the diet of 1658, was abridged to two by that of 1659, which decreed that, on the 10th of July, 1660, all the Socinians who had not embraced Romanism should leave the country under the penalties prescribed by the diet of 1658. By the same enactment, those Socinians who might abjure

their persuasion were forbidden to embrace any other confession than the Romanist, because many of them had become Protestants to avoid the severity of the law of 1658.

‘Owing to the shortness of the time, the state of the country, ruined by war, and the greediness of purchasers who took advantage of their unfortunate position, the Socinians were obliged to sell their property for prices which bore no proportion to their real value. Meanwhile persecution of every kind was heaped on them; they were regarded as outlaws; and as every kind of religious exercise was disallowed to them, nothing was more easy than to find cause for persecuting them on that ground.

‘Nothing then remained for them but to leave the country before the expiration of the appointed term, a measure which was accompanied with great hardship, notwithstanding the attempt of several eminent noblemen to alleviate their sufferings, who, although professed Romanists, were connected by ties of blood and friendship with many Socinians. They dispersed into different parts of Europe, where they expected to find a safe asylum from religious persecution. A great number went to Transylvania and Hungary; but a party of these unfortunate emigrants, composed of three hundred and eighty individuals, was attacked on their way to the last-named country by a band of robbers, sent on purpose, as it is supposed, and completely stripped of their remaining property.’—pp. 396—401.

Thus closed the history of the Socinian sect in Poland, and whatever may be thought of its theology, no difference of opinion can now be entertained amongst reflecting men respecting the manner of its overthrow. This was vicious and culpable in the last degree, pre-eminently adapted to alienate confidence from the orthodox faith, and to predispose inquiring minds to sympathize with the propagators of error. That the influence of Socinianism was as pernicious as its doctrines are unscriptural, we cannot doubt. ‘The daring theological speculations in which they indulged, their practice of trying the Scriptures by the test of weak human reason, and perverting the simple words of the sacred text into a forced sense, led very soon to conclusions subversive of Revelation itself, which, unsettling the minds of men, struck terror into many timorous consciences, and made them seek a refuge in the absolute authority of the Roman church.’ But notwithstanding all this, both Protestants and Romanists were deeply criminal in the means to which they resorted against the rising heresy. Their weapons should have been spiritual, and not carnal; the word of the Lord, and not the sword of the magistrate. They accomplished, indeed, their design, so far as the political existence of the obnoxious sect was concerned, but their success was dearly purchased, and involved, in the course of its achievement, a thousand crimes.

In closing our notice of Count Krasinski's work, we empha-

tically repeat the commendation already expressed. It is not a book of light reading, one fit to be taken up at a leisure hour, and glanced over with a drowsy eye and a listless mind. To those who resort to it in any such mood it will prove unattractive, but to other and more discerning readers, it will present points of interest and instructive lessons, of the most practical and enduring character. Its scholarship is sound, its spirit of research perhaps too profound for its popularity, and its whole air and temper such as bespeak at once the gentleman, the man of letters, and the Christian.

Art. IV. *Luther, a Poem.* By Robert Montgomery, M.A., Author of the 'Omnipresence of the Deity,' 'The Messiah,' 'Satan,' &c. Second Edition. London: Baisler.

It would seem from this title-page that Mr. Robert Montgomery, in his own opinion, is a poet of established reputation, yet there is no writer whose productions have elicited critical opinions so much at variance with this proud assumption. He belongs to no class, certainly not to the order of genius, nor will his works, so popular in his own day, be read by another generation. 'The Omnipresence of the Deity,' the first of his poetical effusions, was so egregiously puffed off at the time of its publication, so bequoted and bepraised in newspapers and periodical journals, and the 'second Milton,' 'the bard of heaven,' was so paraded before the public, that many who were insensible to his prodigious merit did not dare to confide in their own judgment. There were a few, however, that would not be carried along the stream; who read for themselves, and who soon discovered that Mr. R. Montgomery was not destined to introduce a new era in poetry; that the divine omnipresence was a theme above his powers and beyond his attainments. This poem, as it is called, now lies before us; we have reperused it, and it appears to us, both in a religious and poetical view, to be a wretched performance. With its author omnipresence is simply omnipresence. But how it dwells in the soul as an inspiration and a religion, how it is the source of living truth and immortal principle; how, while it seems to do nothing, it does everything; how it works by evil and by good; and how it is to be reconciled with the existence, continuance, and reign of sin in this nether world, he has not troubled himself to inquire; nor has he grappled with a single difficulty. He has dilated, indeed, on many of the phenomena which appear to militate against the doctrine of providence, conducted by a Being of infinite purity, justice, and benevolence; but he has contented himself with merely rebuking

the objector, without silencing his doubts or refuting his impieties. The almost unprecedented popularity of this poem, with two or three others which better deserve it, has induced some of Mr. Montgomery's friendly critics to assume a tone of triumph, which we scarcely think can be acceptable even to him. Twenty-one editions in less than as many years must be highly gratifying to the feelings of any man, and would seem to furnish proof of enduring fame. But Mr. R. Montgomery, in an extract from *D'Israeli*, has furnished evidence that works which promise to live the longest, were little known till their authors were in their graves. Verulam bequeaths his name to posterity *after some generations shall be past*.

'Satan' was an entire failure. It was this long, prosing, sermonic affair, that produced the dialogue in the '*Noctes Ambrosianæ*' on religious poets, between Christopher North and the Ettrick Shepherd.

'NORTH—Pollok was a true poet, and the '*Course of Time*,' though not a poem, overflows with poetry; but the apes of that angel must be bagged, and stifled in the cesspools of the cities where they —.

To this the shepherd replies, after a long parenthesis:—

'A' the pious poets are plagaréesin' frae Pollok. 'They'll a' be forgotten in the course of time. Preserve me! there's a pun!

'NORTH—And a very fair one too, James.

'SHEPHERD—A' this work wi' religious poems reminds me o' the shooten' o' a wild swan ae day, about twenty years syne, by a shepherd, in the loch. It was, indeed, a maist majestic, and at the same time beauteous creatur, seeming as it lay dead on the green sward, baith foreign and indigenous, to belong equally to all the snow mountains o' the earth. Hundres flocked frae a' pairts o' the forest to gaze on't, and there was some talk of stufen't; but ae nicht it unaccountably disappeared; and a lassie that was comin' by hersel' across the moonlicht hills, said she saw something spiritual-like sailing among the stars, on wings that, as they winnowed the blue air, were noiseless as a cloud; but the simple thing at the time never thocht of a swan. Weel naething would serve a' the shepherds in the forest, but to gang ilk a idle day to the loch a swan-shootin'!—so they ca'd it, though niver anither swan was shotten on't frae that day till this; but when the chieles now and then got a wild guse, and not unfrequently a wild dyuck; and on ae grand occasion I remember Jock Linton bringing to Fahope's an auld drake and an auld dyuck, wi' aboot a dizzen flappers, as he ca'd them, as tame as ony that ever waddled about the dubs of a farm-yard. The truth is, they were Fahope's own quackies that had stravaied to the loch; and daft Jock never doubted they were swans and cygnets.

The application, sir, is obvious. Pollok's poem is the bonnie and magnificent swan; a' the lave are but geese or goslings, dyncks or dyucklins. Yet every Cockney shooter's as proud as puir Jock Linton, and thinks himself an Apollo, or as Homer—that's Pope—says, 'The god with the silver bow.'

This somewhat severe censure of Professor Wilson we know not how to soften. The author of 'Satan' is essentially deficient in originality. His thoughts are indistinct and confused. His affectations are abundant; his epithets often harsh, meaningless, and inappropriate; and his general style wearisome and monotonous. Description is his forte; yet even in description his range of objects is miserably circumscribed. His materials are few, and he is perpetually repeating himself. Sun, moon, stars, ocean, mountains, streams and flowers, tempests and calms, have a thousand changes rung upon them. Whatever he appropriates lies upon the surface of nature, and he has no deep insight into the mysteries of mind. His imagination fails him at his utmost need, and he has no philosophy to atone for the want of it. His best passages remind us of better things in other writers. In his metaphors he attempts to illustrate his meaning by fancies which have no reality. Puerile conceits and hyperbolical extravagances he often substitutes for natural similes and obvious analogies.

It is of his 'Satan' the Ettrick Shepherd is made to say, 'The verra deevil himsell's got dull in the haun's of that Rab Montgomery. . . .'

Of this melange of all sorts of heterogeneous things, in three books, Mr. Robert Montgomery, in all probability, took the idea from the 'Course of Time,' and as Mr. Pollok had made a glorified spirit the narrator of all that ever was or ever will be, till the hour of final doom, it probably occurred to his successor that the same objects and events contemplated by the author of all evil, with the sentiments and feelings which in the mind of such a being they would naturally excite, would form the subject of a poem even more sublime and popular than the 'Course of Time;' a conception which, if realized, would have conferred upon him a renown only surpassed by that of his immediate predecessor. But the idea was far too mighty for his grasp. Could he have induced his imaginary Satan to reveal his felicity and glory as the firstborn son of light up to the period of his revolt; the causes which led to his rebellion; his motives for raising a standard against the Almighty; his discomfiture and ruin; his determination to select the earth as the scene of conflict with the power that had defeated him, and the reasons of such selection; and how he had been the secret and principal agent in producing all the forms and shades of evil

which have rendered our world one dark scene of crime and misery; the sorceries, sophistries, and influences by which his empire had been maintained, so that all that is properly satanic upon earth might have been defined and traced to its spiritual source; the nature and success of the opposition which he had encountered from good angels, and from the power and influence of the Deity working in the consciences and hearts of men, by natural and revealed religion; the shifts and expedients to which he had been reduced, and his unconquerable malice inflamed by every disappointment; how he had governed empires and presided in the cabinets of princes; in short, had he been made to disclose, as far as imagination could conceive them, the secret counsels of Pandemonium, as they have influenced the destinies of time; his views of prophecy; his preparations, in spite of all that he foresaw, to carry on perpetual war with heaven, even up to the moment of the consummation of all things; his plans to suppress Christianity and to restore the reign of superstition, or establish that of atheism; and a multitude of other collateral topics which would have presented themselves to the mind of a Christian poet; then, indeed, might Mr. Robert Montgomery have produced a poem which the world would not willingly let die. But nothing of this kind has he achieved; nothing like it has he attempted.

Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer's beautiful essay on 'The True Spirit of Religious Poetry,' was written with the friendly purpose of rescuing Mr. Robert Montgomery from the severity of unjust criticism; and to prove to 'the satisfaction of every candid reader, that his powers had been greatly maligned, and that, whatever the rank to which as a poet he belongs, he at least possesses many and not inconsiderable attributes of his high calling.* But his estimate of the 'Messiah,' the other poem which figures in the title-page of 'Luther,' is substantially the same with that we have now given of 'Satan.' 'The crying sin,' he observes, 'of modern poetry, the want of greatness in the whole, is especially marked and prominent in the 'Messiah.' There is no large scheme, no mighty plan, no method—in a word, no conception visible in the great task which the designer has undertaken. Mr. Montgomery seems to have formed no adequate notion of the vastness of his attempt; he has not approached it with slow and reverential steps; he has not suffered the majesty of the theme to sink deep into his soul, cherished and worshipped by the vigils of years, so that the whole mighty tale he was to relate might gradually shape itself forth in his meditation, a complete, clear, harmonized conception, before a single line in the execution was

* New Monthly Magazine for August, 1832, p. 147.

reluctantly ventured upon. He seems to have thought that a great subject was a great conception; to have rushed into the theme with the Bible on one side, and half a dozen volumes of novels on the other, so as to open one for an event, and the other for a description; and he goes wandering heedlessly on his dread emprise, stringing together, without discrimination, and with equal pomp of verse, the various wonders of our Saviour's life, the loaves and fishes multiplied, and the dead raised; and interlarding the whole with the most unseasonable digressions to the most incongruous subjects. So little, indeed, does he seem imbued with the grandeur and awe of the loftiest subject which a Christian poet could choose, that he breaks in upon the sufferings and glories of the Godhead with evidently delighted recurrence to himself; and even immediately after the ascension, Mr. Montgomery suddenly breaks out into the important notification that it was on an autumn morning that he 'struck the chorded lyre to this surpassing theme.' The longer and the better portion of the conclusion of the poem is equally impertinent, being composed of an eulogium upon poetry in general, worked up from associations utterly incompatible with the august and unearthly grandeur which belongs to the re-union of God with God.

We have thus dwelt on these three earlier productions of our author, because he has again obtruded them upon our notice, and awakened our remembrances of his poetical delinquencies, and because we are able to justify all we have said by quotations from the present poem of 'Luther,' which yet has certainly more redeeming qualities than any of his former productions. Of his harsh, meaningless, and inappropriate epithets, we take the following specimens. In the second line of the opening of the poem, Christ is addressed as '*vast and viewless* Lord.'

'How shall man, so *erringly* begirt
With clay and darkness, to the heights of sense
Incarnate lift one clear and cloudless view.'

'By creed *Almighty* signed.' This word *Almighty*, which frequently occurs, is so incongruously introduced that it always offends taste, and sometimes disgusts piety. 'Like the spell of some *Almighty* breeze.' What can this mean? We pass by '*colossal* person'—'*In each high lineament, the plastic God*'—'*He sank and melted into mindless tears*'—'*Æolically* tuned'—'*In the quick heart of God-created man*'—'*A focus where emphatic Godhead brought*'—'*All are a living, though a sightless race.*' How are we to understand this? Is the race blind? or are they invisible? Has it the same meaning here, as in the following line:—'*Where Shakspeare dreamt, and sightless Milton*

soar'd.' Again, apparently, we have the former sense, where he talks of 'The *sightless* finger of the fairy breeze.'

Of the wearisome monotony of this tedious affair our readers will soon be convinced when they sit down to the task of perusing it.

False metaphors, puerile conceits, and hyperbolical extravagances, abound even in this last and most finished of Mr. Robert Montgomery's works. We shall give a few instances as we meet with them in turning over again the pages where we had marked passages for quotation.

'And thou, O Christ! the *diapason* wert
Where all the harmonies of heaven unite
Incessant, far beyond the *harp* of mind
To echo, or the ear of man to drink.'

'The sacred deep
That chants his lone and everlasting hymn
Of waters, *like* the psalmody of waves
In worship.'

'And Christian, what art thou but human Christ?' 'Christ the counterpart of Godhead.' 'The man of sorrows forms no man of smiles.'

'The kings of mind,' the master spirits of the world, however misunderstood, persecuted, or maligned, at last receive due honour—'Time is their justice.' And how is this fine thought illustrated?

'When their tombs are rear'd,
Then wonder dares to consecrate their deeds,
Will call them *primates* in the church of man;
Great nature's own *episcopate* they form,
And rule like *metropolitans* of mind.'

The following is absolutely unintelligible. The fulcrum supports the lever; the lever does not lift the fulcrum, and therefore not the soul in which it is fixed:—

'They find the lever Archimedes sought,
And fix its fulcrum in the soul of man,
And nobly lift it to the destined skies.'

What incongruity, extravagance, and false taste, have we in the following passage, which has been elaborated with great care:—

'Lust becomes a brutal flame,
(Is it not always so?)
And all those moral harmonies which make
Nature a noble, man a godlike thing,
Have perished! Life is then a form of death;

The heart's *insolvent* ; mind, a *bankrupt* too;
 Jehovah in *eclipse* himself retires;
 And thus, in *ghastliness*, all earth appears
 A *bloodless shambles*, whence our orphan'd souls
 Down unto death by myriads will be dragg'd,
 Slain by false doubt, or slaughter'd by despair.'

' Blood, heart, and brain, the beautiful inhale,
 Matter and mind a *very* *duel* fight.'

We have said of Mr. Robert Montgomery's other poems, that his 'best passages remind us of better things in other writers.' We meet with an illustration in the sixtieth page, where the fine conception—

' The child is father to the man'

is thus diluted and spoiled :—

' Thus in after life
 Back on him boyhood darts explaining gleams,
 And proves the child did prophesy the man;
 Luther, a germ, may now in heart be seen;
 For what is manhood but the child drawn out—
 The mere expansion of that moral seed
 That buds and blossoms into perfect man,
 Whose ripened germ is character full blown.'

What a poor conceit do these lines exhibit :—

' Are those ties of heart
 Broken on earth, no more in heaven renew'd?
 If here below, our fondest cravings prove,
 Affections make the vowels of the mind;
 And like a consonant, when left alone,
 Man without love seems unpronounced and mute.'

And is not the next either literal nonsense, or a mere conceit as puerile as the last ?

' Those capitals of light,
 Jehovah's imprimatur in the skies.'

Again—

' But in these prebends see a title page,
 An imprimatur of immortal life.'

By what authority does he use the verb *imprimatur* as a noun ? and where does he find '*imprimamur* ?' It must surely be a misprint.

Is this reverential ?

' And from *the reservoir* of Godhead drew
 His faith intense, his fortitude divine.'

Is the cockney idea conveyed in the following somewhat confused description worthy of the grandeur of the subject?

'And earth, redeem'd, Messiah's *palace* be,
To shine, as round *his central throne* she rolls
The loved *metropolis* of sunless worlds.'

Is it not absurd extravagance to say—

'*All mercies waft th' Almighty on their wings.*'

'The liturgy of rolling stars' may be very appropriate from the reverend 'bard of heaven.' Is the Holy Spirit treated with the awe which becomes every mention of his name, when he is called 'Vicar of Christ'? We object again to making the Deity a mere *senatus academicus*, granting the honour of 'precedence noble in the scale of mind,' by diploma. 'The great diploma of our God.' This chaplain to Apollo seems more intent to preserve his sacerdotal than his poetical character. To 'the *liturgy* of rolling stars,' we have to add, 'Nature's *litany* of weeping hearts.'

'The vaulted heavens,
Studded with stars, like scripture gemm'd with truths.'

Would not a schoolboy have a double imposition for such a palpable violation of one of the most common rules of rhetoric? Had he written, 'Scripture gemm'd with truths,' and illustrated it by the vaulted heavens, studded with stars, it might have passed, had it been appropriate to the subject.

We implore our readers not to think of Milton,* when Mr. Robert Montgomery tells them about—

'Burning jewels dug from mines of light,'
which

'Flash on the forehead of the *mellow'd* sky.'

And we ask them, have they ever seen such jewels? Where are the labourers in these mines? and where is the forehead of the *mellowed* sky? Yet such there must be, for Mr. Robert Montgomery assures us that they are—

* The noble lines, of which the text of Mr. Robert Montgomery are a wretched travestie, are, however, too exquisite not to be remembered:—

'So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
And yet, anon, repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new spangled ore,
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.'

The mystery is, how even Mr. Robert Montgomery could read Lycidas, and write Luther.

' Nature's diamonds, on her night-dress thrown
In countless sparkles.'

There are also certain 'dewdrops' that 'gleam like' them.

Is not the following something worse than a poetical hyperbole :—

' Creation once her own Creator slew,
In flesh embodied, when for sin he died.'

The same grand defect is manifest in the poem of 'Luther,' of which Sir Edward Bulwer complains in the 'Messiah.' It wants method and completeness; its parts are strung together, not moulded into one consistent whole.

In 'Luther,' as well as in the 'Messiah,' its author seems to have mistaken 'a great subject for a great conception.' Still, with all that we have been obliged to censure, justice demands that we should acknowledge the improvements which Mr. Robert Montgomery has attained as a religious poet since he last appeared before us. In the first place, he is a much better theologian. His views are not only orthodox, but they are also quite as tolerant as could reasonably be expected from a *ci-devant* Oxford graduate. He appears, too, to be more ardently imbued with the true spirit of Christian piety than he was, and we have less reason to complain of his egotism and vanity. Instead of half-a-dozen books of travels to furnish him with materials, he has surrounded himself with the best works that illustrate the character of Luther, and convey just impressions of the commencement, progress, and results of the reformation. With extracts from these he has enriched his Introduction, and crowded his Appendix. While we make allowances for Mr. Robert Montgomery's partialities and prejudice as a churchman, we must be allowed to question the wisdom that pronounces unqualified eulogium on his own, as an apostolic and Catholic church, especially when the church of Rome is severely condemned for certain characteristics which find their counterpart in the church of England. The following passage offers a text, the elucidation of which, drawn from the internal structure and constitution of the church, and her past history, would fill a very instructive volume, not at all, however, after the fashion of Mr. Robert Montgomery's :—

' Her *creed* is UNITY, her HEAD is Christ,
Her forms primeval, and her *creed* divine
And CATHOLIC; that crowning name she wears.'

If it be true that fiction is of the essence of poetry, then are these the most poetical lines in this bulky volume. We must not speak of her divisions under the head UNITY, nor of the

sovereign that really sways the sceptre over her, by way of shewing that CHRIST is her head, nor of her notoriously sectarian and persecuting spirit and conduct, in order to prove her CATHOLICISM. The only unity in the church of England is the act of uniformity; and her 'creed divine!' What is it? She has three creeds, 'which come from different ages, express different theologies, represent different schools, and contradict one another point blank.' Her spirit is most exclusive, her curses most bitter, and her true doctrines so neutralized by her soul-destroying errors, as to render her the shield of many heresies, and the grand distiller of moral poison through the length and breadth of the land. We are indebted to Mr. Robert Montgomery for his manly defence of Luther, and especially for that portion of the poem which treats of Satanic agency. One passage, that shews he does not want power when the felicitous moment arrives for putting it forth, we quote, and we may observe, *en passant*, that there are many of equal merit scattered through the volume:—

' And are we to some lacerating dream
Such agonies as rent th' undreading heart
Of Luther. Dare we thus the whole refer?
Was it with phantoms of a brain diseased,
Or Fictions out of gloomy thought evoked,
Fanatical and false, that saints of old
Contended? Or, with dismal cloud oppress'd,
Did prophets only with the air contend?
Were brave apostles, when their spirits bled,
By Satans of the mind alone convulsed?
Or did the GOD-MAN (in his day of flesh,
Tempted like man) no thrilling combat face,
But simply by stupendous vision rapt,
Fight with black nothing, and baptize it, Fiend?
Let dread Gethsemane a response bring!
There, where the bloody sweat from Christ was wrung,
As round him, in his human weakness, rush'd,
With eyes that hunger'd on his pangs to feed,
And wings that flutter'd with a fiendish joy,
The hosts of darkness, let the sceptic ask
If *that* be air which made Immanuel shake!

In the Appendix, we are favoured with Luther's celebrated German hymn in the original, accompanied by a translation. The hymn was composed by the reformer immediately after his noble appearance at the Diet of Worms, when, refusing to retract, he uttered the memorable words, 'It is neither safe nor prudent to do aught against conscience. I cannot do otherwise. God assist me. Amen.' With this hymn, and the

translation, we had intended to close our notice, but our space is already exceeded, and we must therefore abstain from doing so. He must excuse our having constantly joined the distinguishing prefix to his cognomen; we have done it in consequence of an extract from one of his critics which is stitched into the volume, and which we transcribe for the benefit of our readers, and our own justification. ‘Robert Montgomery is certainly **THE** Montgomery; whatever genius is between the pair has fallen to his lot!’

Art. V. *The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church, and the Temple.* By Charles G. Addison, Esq. Longmans. 1842.

THE projected restoration of that beautiful and interesting relic of the middle ages, the Temple Church, first suggested, as the writer informs us, the present work; and we are pleased that the task has fallen into such well qualified hands. Mr. Addison has executed his undertaking with considerable ability, and we thank him for the service rendered. We are gratified too, that another work is thus added to the list of those which have been recently produced to illustrate specific portions of mediæval history, since it is only by treating subjects like the one before us, separately, that we are qualified to estimate either their contemporary influence or ultimate effect. The necessity, indeed, for this, has seldom been more strongly shown than in the case of the order whose history is now before us. Peculiar in their character, their usages, their duties, the Knights Templars have been represented in every strange and contradictory light. By some writers they have been viewed merely as bold and gallant knights, by others as warlike priests—‘militant priesthood’ has been the term—while by others they have been represented as crafty politicians, pledged to the overthrow of the European states, in order to establish a military despotism upon their ruins, or as intelligent seceders from popery—precursors, indeed, of the reformation; or, on the other hand, again, as criminals of blackest dye, in league, not alone with the assassins of Asia, but with Satan himself. Now it must be obvious to the reader that such conflicting opinions arise from imperfect knowledge; and that a clearer view can be obtained only by tracing the progress of this formidable and valiant order, from the period of its foundation, to that of its sudden and forcible suppression.

The institution of the Knights Templars, or ‘Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon,’ originated in the wild enthusiasm of the first crusade; and in an age when everything partook of a warlike character, the organization of a body of soldiers, separated

'from the common cares and interests and relations of life, by the obligation of the conventual vow,' was far from presenting that anomalous appearance which it does to the modern reader. This association of the military and monastic character, indeed, fully answered the designs of its founders, for the firmest bulwarks of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, were the Templars and their brethren, or rather perhaps their rivals, the Knights Hospitallers; and so effective was their aid during the long struggle of the Crusades, that Gibbon himself allows that, although 'founded by fanaticism,' policy must approve their institution. The original founders of this powerful confraternity, the Knights Templars, were nine knights, who at the commencement of the twelfth century formed themselves into a brotherhood, for the purpose of protecting the European pilgrims through the dangerous passes and defiles of the mountains to the Holy City. They pledged themselves to this duty in the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem; and struck with the self-devotion and enthusiasm of the little band, St. Bernard himself became their eloquent advocate, and so powerfully pleaded their cause, that before the close of that century, the Templars became the wealthiest, no less than the most powerful confraternity the world ever saw. Nor did they, at any period of their history, withdraw from the duties to which they were pledged—they fought in the van of every battle, from the day when the red cross banner first surmounted the Temple, to that when, after sustaining a siege of unexampled severity, and the loss of nearly all their brethren, the small remnant quitted Acre, never again to visit the Holy Land.

The fierce persecution of this powerful order, so soon after the abandonment of their Eastern possessions, and the tales of mysterious horror that were circulated so successfully against them, together with their utter suppression, have rendered the question whether the Templars were really atrocious criminals, or most cruelly used men, one of great interest to the student of middle-age history. Still, until the appearance of M. Raynouard's elaborate work, and that now before us, the writers who have taken either side of the question, have been too indolent to refer to the original legal documents relating to the suppression of the Templars, but have contented themselves with quoting the opinions of contemporary chroniclers, who decided according to the limited view afforded them of passing events. The work before us furnishes ample information on this point, drawn from the proceedings against the Templars, and it also throws great light on the character of their warfare in Palestine, through the medium of the Arabian historians.

It has become the received opinion of a large class, that the

crusades were an unwarrantable interference of the Christians of Europe with the religion and political institutions of the inhabitants of Palestine; and that the various expeditions for the recovery of the Holy City, had about as much justice as that displayed in the modern partition of Poland. Now, without entering into the abstract question of the Crusades, it is important to remark that Palestine, until the year 637 was a Christian country. When at this period the Caliph Omar seized Jerusalem, he granted to the patriarch letters of safety, which expressly ensured to the inhabitants not only protection to themselves, but to their churches; and for four hundred years, under the liberal sway of the Saracen caliphs, pilgrims from every part of Europe visited the Holy City in safety. In the year 1065, Palestine passed into the hands of the Turcomans—a fierce and barbarous race, who massacred three thousand of the Christian inhabitants, plundered the churches, and drove back the wearied and exhausted European pilgrims at the point of the sword. It was then that ‘the wild enthusiasm of the crusades’ burst forth, and really as a question of abstract right, the Croises could advance about as just a claim to Palestine, as the barbarians by whom it had recently been overrun. Nor were these new possessors of the Holy Land merely fierce and barbarous; they were bigoted almost to madness, and the superior liberality of the Saracen dynasty towards its Christian subjects, excited the utmost fury of the invaders. Thus, the war in the East became a war of *l’outrance*, and if the Templars saw visions of St. George and St. James leading the Christian army to battle, the Moslem troops advanced to meet them with shouts of triumph, believing that ‘the loss of limbs would be supplied by the wings of angels,’ and that the ‘black-eyed girls of Paradise’ stood visibly before them, ready to receive the departing spirit of the warrior. Thus the fierceness of Moslem warfare was no fiction of the old romancer, but a well-attested fact; and this fierceness seems to have been the characteristic, too, of a hero of the modern romance writers, who has been represented in very different colours.

‘As soon as Saladin grasped the power of the sword, and obtained the command of armies, he threw off the follies of his youth, and led a new life. He renounced the pleasures of the world, and assumed the character of a saint. His dress was a coarse woollen garment; water was his only drink; and he carefully abstained from everything disapproved of by the Mussulman religion. Five times each day he prostrated himself in public prayer, surrounded by his friends and followers, and his demeanour became grave, serious, and thoughtful. He fought vigorously with spiritual weapons against the temptations of the world; his nights were often spent in watching and meditation, and he was always diligent in fasting and in the study of the Koran.

With the same zeal he combated with carnal weapons the foes of Islam, and his admiring brethren gave him the name of *Salah-ed-deen*, ('Integrity of Religion,') vulgarly called Saladin.

'At the head of forty thousand horse and foot, he crossed the desert and ravaged the borders of Palestine; the wild Bedouins and the enthusiastic Arabians of the far south were gathered together under his standard, and hastened with holy zeal to obtain the crown of martyrism in defence of the faith. The long remembered and greatly dreaded Arab shout of onset, *Allah acbar*, *God is victorious*, again resounded through the plains and the mountains of Palestine, and the grand religious struggle for the possession of the holy city of Jerusalem, equally revered by Mussulmen and by Christians, was once more vigorously commenced.'—pp. 61, 62.

The reader is aware that after a sanguinary struggle, Saladin obtained possession of Jerusalem. The following account of his proceedings, extracted from the Arabian historians, gives a vivid picture of the fierce enthusiasm of the conqueror :—

'Saladin restored the sacred area of the Temple to its original condition under the first Mussulman conquerors of Jerusalem. The ancient Christian church of the Virgin (otherwise the mosque *Al Acsa*, otherwise the Temple of Solomon) was washed with rose-water, and was once again dedicated to the religious services of the Moslems. On the western side of this venerable edifice the Templars had erected, according to the Arabian writers, an immense building in which they lodged, together with granaries of corn and various offices, which enclosed and concealed a great portion of the edifice. Most of these were pulled down by the sultan to make a clear and open area for the resort of the Mussulmen to prayer. Some new erections placed between the columns in the interior of the structure were taken away, and the floor was covered with the richest carpets. 'Lamps innumerable,' says Ibn Alatsyr, 'were suspended from the ceiling; verses of the Koran were again inscribed on the walls; the call to prayer was again heard; the bells were silenced; the exiled faith returned to its ancient sanctuary; the devout Mussulmen again bent the knee in adoration of the one only God, and the voice of the imam was again heard from the pulpit, reminding the true believers of the resurrection and the last judgment.

'The Friday after the surrender of the city, the army of Saladin and crowds of true believers, who had flocked to Jerusalem from all parts of the East, assembled in the Temple of the Lord to assist in the religious services of the Mussulman sabbath. Omad, Saladin's secretary, who was present, gives the following interesting account of the ceremony, and of the sermon that was preached. 'On Friday morning at daybreak,' says he, 'everybody was asking whom the sultan had appointed to *preach*. The Temple was full; the congregation was impatient; all eyes were fixed on the pulpit; the ears were on the stretch; our hearts beat fast, and tears trickled down our faces. On all sides were to be heard rapturous exclamations of 'What a glorious sight!

What a congregation! Happy are those who have lived to see *the resurrection of Islam.* At length the sultan ordered the judge (doctor of the law) *Mohieddin Aboulmehali Mohammed* to fulfil the sacred function of imaan. I immediately lent him the black vestment which I had received as a present from the caliph. He then mounted into the pulpit and spoke. All were hushed. His expressions were graceful and easy; and his discourse eloquent and much admired. He spake of the virtue and the sanctity of Jerusalem, of the purification of the Temple; he alluded to the silence of the bells, and to the flight of the infidel priests. In his prayer he named the caliph and the sultan, and terminated his discourse with that chapter of the Koran in which God orders justice and good works. He then descended from the pulpit, and prayed in the Mihrah. Immediately afterwards a sermon was preached before the congregation.

‘This sermon was delivered by *Mohammed Ben Zeky*. ‘Praise be to God,’ saith the preacher, ‘who by the power of his might hath raised up Islamism on the ruins of polytheism; who governs all things according to his will; who overthroweth the devices of the infidels, and causeth the truth to triumph. . . . I praised God, who hath succoured his elect; who hath rendered them victorious and crowned them with glory, who hath purified his holy house from the filthiness of idolatry. . . . I bear witness that there is no God but that one great God who standeth alone and hath no partner; sole, supreme, eternal; who begetteth not and is not begotten, and hath no equal. I bear witness that Mahomet is his servant, his envoy, and his prophet, who hath dissipated doubts, confounded polytheism, and put down LIES, &c. . . .

‘O men, declare ye the blessings of God, who hath restored to you this holy city, after it has been left in the power of the infidels for a hundred years. . . . This holy house of the Lord hath been built, and its foundations have been established, for the glory of God. . . . This sacred spot is the dwelling place of the prophets, the *kebla*, (place of prayer,) towards which you turn at the commencement of your religious duties, the birth-place of the saints, the scene of the revelation. It is thrice holy, for the angels of God spread their wings over it. This is that blessed land of which God hath spoken in his sacred book. In this house of prayer Mahomet prayed with the angels who approach God. It is to this spot that all fingers are turned after the two holy places. . . . This conquest, O men, hath opened unto you the gates of heaven; the angels rejoice, and the eyes of the prophets glisten with joy. . . .’—pp. 133—136.

Driven from Jerusalem, the Knights Templars established themselves at Antioch, whence they proceeded to the succour of Tyre, where they achieved an important victory over Saladin, by whom it had been besieged, and who, overwhelmed with grief, took, according to his Arabian biographers, the singular and barbarous mode of manifesting it, by ‘cutting off the ears and

tail of his horse, and rode that same horse through his whole army.'

We have remarked upon the prevalent error of viewing the Templars as a priesthood. The order was divided into three classes, knights, priests, and serving brethren. The first of these alone bore the name and exercised the power, subject however to a grand master, whose authority was inordinately great, and whose decision on all subjects, was final. It was necessary that these knights should be of noble birth, and should have received knighthood according to the laws of chivalry. These wore the white mantle with the red cross on the shoulder, which well nigh covered their chain-mail armour. Each was to have three horses, and each had some of the serving brethren to attend him, whose duty on the field of battle was to supply him with fresh weapons, or a fresh horse; indeed, to perform the general duties of an esquire. The priests were to perform the religious services; and a portable chapel always accompanied the Templars on their marches, which, when they rested, was pitched in the centre of the camp.

The rule of the order, which was framed chiefly by St. Bernard, and from which Mr. Addison has given large extracts, is curious, and exhibits much of that mixture of sincere devotion and childish superstition which might be expected in a document of the kind, originating from so superstitious a man. Constant attendance on the services of the church, frequent fasts and watchings, are enjoined, 'that being refreshed with heavenly food, none might be afraid of the *fight*, but be prepared for the *crown*;' silence during meals, too, and the eschewing of all frivolous conversation, in emulation of the Psalmist, who saith, '*I have set a watch upon my lips*;' and the rejection of all rich or ornamental apparel, as well as of all secular amusements, and the not being allowed to receive gifts, or to send or receive letters, except by the express licence of the master. Some portions of the rule, however, contain much good advice, as the following extract will shew:—

'LXXI. Contentions, envyings, spite, murmurings, backbiting, slander, we command you, with godly admonition, to avoid, and do ye flee therefore as from the plague. Let every one of you, therefore, dear brothers, study with a watchful mind that he do not secretly slander his brother, nor accuse him, but let him studiously ponder upon the saying of the apostle, '*Be not thou an accuser or a whisperer among the people*.' But when he knoweth clearly that his brother hath offended, let him gently and with brotherly kindness reprove him in private, according to the commandment of the Lord; and if he will not hear him, let him take to him another brother, and if he shall take no heed of both, let him be publicly reproved in the assembly before

all. For they have indeed much blindness who take little pains to guard against spite, and thence become swallowed up in the ancient wickedness of the subtle adversary.'—pp. 25, 26.

The Templars advanced to battle preceded by their 'Balcanifer,' bearing the great banner of the order, the 'Beauseant,' and after the trumpets had sounded the charge, they rushed on the enemy singing the psalm '*Non nobis Domine.*' Thus combining the excited religious feelings of the convent, with the enthusiastic valour of the ancient knight, we are scarcely surprised to find that this energetic order, long after the fervour of the crusading spirit had died away in Europe, fought almost single-handed, the battle of what in the two preceding centuries was considered as the cause of Christendom. But the advancing power of the Moslem was not to be withstood; under the conduct of the Sultan Khalil, 'an innumerable people of all ages, and every tongue, thirsting for Christian blood,' assembled, and the two warlike orders of the Templars and Hospitallers had now to bear alone the shock of that contest, which had before been shared by the thousands of European Croises. Still, the Templars fought bravely, and Acre bore witness to their unequalled valour; but, overpowered by numbers, they were at length compelled to quit Palestine, little deeming that they returned but to receive as a reward for that valour the doom of traitors and heretics.

'With the loss of all the Christian territory in Palestine had expired in Christendom every serious hope and expectation of recovering and retaining the Holy City. The services of the Templars were consequently no longer required, and men began to regard with an eye of envy and of covetousness their vast wealth and immense possessions. The privileges conceded to the fraternity by the popes made the church their enemy. The great body of the clergy regarded with jealousy and indignation their exemption from the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The bull *omne datum optimum* was considered a great inroad upon the rights of the church, and broke the union which had originally subsisted between the Templars and the ecclesiastics. Their exemption from tithe was a source of considerable loss to the parsons, and the privilege they possessed of celebrating divine service during interdict brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Disputes arose between the fraternity and the bishops and priests, and the hostility of the latter to the order was manifested in repeated acts of injustice, which drew forth many severe bulls and indignant animadversions from the Roman pontiffs.

'The Templars, moreover, towards the close of their career, became unpopular with the European sovereigns and their nobles. The revenues of the former were somewhat diminished through the immu-

nities conceded to the Templars by their predecessors, and the paternal estates of the latter had been diminished by the grant of many thousand manors, lordships, and fair estates to the order by their pious and enthusiastic ancestors. Considerable dislike also began to be manifested to the annual transmission of large sums of money, the revenues of the order, from the European states, to be expended in a distant warfare in which Christendom now took comparatively no interest. Shortly after the fall of Acre, and the total loss of Palestine, Edward the First, King of England, seized and sequestered to his own use the moneys which had been accumulated by the Templars, to forward to their brethren in Cyprus, alleging that the property of the order of the Temple had been granted to it by the kings of England, his predecessors, and their subjects, for the defence of the Holy Land, and that since the loss thereof, no better use could be made of the money than by appropriating it to the maintenance of the poor. At the earnest request of the pope, however, the king afterwards permitted their revenues to be transmitted to them in the island of Cyprus in the usual manner.'—pp. 194—196.

His son, Edward the Second, followed the same example; and, as Mr. Addison remarks, 'the impunity with which these acts of violence were committed, manifests that the Templars no longer enjoyed their ancient power.' The case really was, that the Templars had outlived their date. The wild enthusiasm of the Crusades had passed away, and the wild, as we may well term it, and devotional, but deeply superstitious feeling which impelled the wealthiest nobles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to fling property, which makes the utmost exertions of modern times look mean and contemptible, into the treasuries of a church that required poverty rather than wealth, had passed away also. The denunciations of the earlier sects against a wealthy and endowed church had, in the thirteenth century, been sternly re-echoed by the united voice of the mendicant orders, and men began rather to seek for reasons to strip the church of her possessions, than for excuses to heap riches upon her. The return at this crisis of a well organized body of warriors from the East, possessed of twenty-eight thousand manors in various parts of Europe, and pledged to the maintenance of that church which had so highly honoured them, might therefore well excite feelings of anxiety, if not of alarm.

It was reserved, however, for the pope, not for the opposing sects, to attack this valiant order; and Clement the Fifth, a pontiff as unscrupulous as he was avaricious, joined with his late royal master, Philip the Fair of France, in a persecution of the Templars, as flagitious as it was extravagant. Suddenly, on October 13, 1307, all the Templars throughout France were arrested, and then the marvelling people were told that they had worshipped an idol, covered with a man's skin; that they

trampled the cross under foot, and were in league with those very infidels against whom they had so valiantly fought for well nigh two hundred years. The French populace listened calmly to these charges; for the French populace can never, in any period of their history, be accused of standing forward to fight any battle, save what they believe to be exclusively their own; but when the same charges were made against the English Templars, the king, re-echoing the popular voice, expressed his astonishment, and prayed that the character of the order might be cleared 'by some fair course of inquiry.' The holy pontiff had, however, arranged his plan, and therefore the only answer vouchsafed, was the command that all the English Templars should be taken into custody. Edward the Second was not only a feeble, but a needy prince; he was son-in-law, too, to Philip the Fair. The confiscation of the Templars' property seemed an easy method of filling his treasury, and he therefore caused them to be arrested in January, and seized their possessions. The proceedings against the English Templars are given at great length in this interesting volume; and they afford a striking contrast to the plain, straightforward mode of dispensing justice, which the civil courts of England present. Although committed to prison in January, proceedings were delayed until the September twelvemonth; and then, in worthy emulation of Jedburgh justice, 'hang first, and try after,' the papal bull denouncing the Templars as criminals, and excommunicating all who should knowingly harbour any of them, having been read in the churches, the venerable ecclesiastical court set about inquiring into the guilt of the prisoners! It is satisfactory to find that the majority of the judges were foreigners, mere creatures of the pope; and that Robert Winchilsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, laboured, though ineffectually, for justice. The charges exhibited, were indeed, as Mr. Addison remarks, monstrous and ridiculous. The worshipping a cat, a man's skull, an idol with three faces, were among them; and they were besides charged with the most atrocious crimes. These were all denied by the Templars; nor was a single witness brought forward to prove them. After several meetings of the ecclesiastical court, the council decided 'that the inquisitors and three bishops should beseech the king,' that they might proceed against the Templars in the way that should seem to them the best and most expedient for the purpose of eliciting the truth,' a modest request, but one which meant that the inquisitors might apply *torture*. It was on this occasion that the celebrated and noble reply quoted by Hemingford, was given to the Archbishop of York, who had inquired whether the law permitted him to use torture, if confession could

not otherwise be obtained,' and it was declared by the judges, '*that no torture was ever used in England.*'

This decision probably prevented the king from at once yielding to the ecclesiastical commissioners; but his reluctance was speedily overcome by a special letter from the holy pontiff, in which he bade his 'beloved son' consider whether such reluctance 'was suitable to his honour and safety.' Edward, therefore, in August, sent orders to the constable of the Tower to deliver up the Templars to the tender mercies of the inquisitors, 'and permit them to do what should seem fitting, in accordance with *ecclesiastical law*!' It is gratifying to find that the constable of the Tower and the sheriffs demurred to this demand, and that in the king's correspondence with them, he again and again states that the inquisitors are foreigners, and that he only allows the application of torture, 'out of reverence to the pope.' But torture could not wring from these valiant knights a single confession of guilt. Although they had now been imprisoned nearly three years, half starved and tortured, when brought before their accusers and judges, their only reply was, 'that their accusers lied.' Again were they consigned to their solitary dungeons, where they remained during the whole of the winter, and in April, the examination of witnesses was resumed at the Chapter-House of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Seventy-three witnesses gave their statements, mostly, that they 'had *heard* people say' the most extravagant and ridiculous things. We are sorry to find among these witnesses the names of several members of the mendicant orders, who, hated as they were already by the established clergy, would have acted a more Christian part by refraining from joining in accusations against an order, which, stripped of its possessions, was not likely to become an object of fear to any party.

The master of the Temple and his brethren now drew up and presented a declaration, including a confession as to our Saviour's divinity, nearly in the words of the Nicene creed, assuring their persecutors that they 'believe all that the holy church believes and teaches,' and concluding with the following pathetic remonstrance:—

'And for the love of God, and for charity, we beseech you, who represent our holy father the pope, that we may be treated like true children of the church, for we have well guarded and preserved the faith and the law of the church, and of our own religion, the which is good, honest, and just, according to the ordinances and the privileges of the court of Rome, granted, confirmed, and canonized by common council; the which privileges, together with the rule of our order, are enregistered in the said court. And we would bring forward all

Christians, (save our enemies and slanderers,) with whom we are conversant, and among whom we have resided, to say how and in what manner we have spent our lives. And if, in our examinations, we have said or done anything wrong through ignorance of a word, since we are unlettered men, we are ready to suffer for holy church like him who died for us on the blessed cross. And we believe all the sacraments of the church. And we beseech you, for the love of God, and as you hope to be saved, that you judge us as you will have to answer for yourselves and for us before God; and we pray that our examination may be read and heard before ourselves and all the people, *in the very language and words in which it was given before you, and written down on paper.*—p. 260.

The importance of the last supplication will be estimated, when we remember that most of the witnesses, as belonging to the lower classes, gave their evidence in English, and that this language was utterly unknown to the foreign prelates. The demand, too, that ‘it should be written down on paper,’ proves the utter contempt of justice which marked all the proceedings of this iniquitous court, no less than that their examination should be ‘read and heard before ourselves and all the people.’ But this boon, which had these gallant knights been mere churls, charged with robbing a hen-roost, would have been conceded by the free spirit of the English constitution, was denied, for well did the inquisitors know that it was only by deluding the public mind by vague charges of heresy, and what was yet more dreaded, sorcery, they could hope to succeed. They directed torture again to be applied, and at length one chaplain and two serving brethren, for the *knights* held firm, confessed that they had spit on the crucifix, and prayed for pardon. This was granted on the easy terms of public penance at the door of St. Paul’s.

By this time public opinion seems to have interfered, and it interfered effectually. The master and the knights still asserted their innocence; and suddenly, these atrocious criminals, charged with every moral, as well as religious crime, were told that by acknowledging that they ‘had grievously erred in believing that the master of the Temple, who was a mere layman, had power to pronounce absolution,’ they should receive pardon! To this proposal the poor victims willingly assented, for they had already acknowledged their ignorance on ecclesiastical points; they therefore repeated the required confession, and were absolved, in right clerical form, by the Bishops of London and Chichester, who declaring that ‘they had gravely erred concerning the sacrament of repentance,’ ‘forgave them,’ and reconciled them ‘once more to the unity of the church.’ It is worthy of notice, that in these public confessions, the priests of the order are represented as using Latin, the serving brethren

English, while the knights made their abjuration in that which was still the language of the high-born, Norman-French.

It affords an additional proof of the innocence of this order, that, in the countries beyond the sphere of French influence, the Templars were acquitted. In France, large bodies of them were burnt; in England, although popular feeling eventually interposed, the son-in-law of the French king evinced every desire to find them guilty; but in Spain, Portugal, and Germany, the Templars were openly declared innocent. 'The chief cause of the Templars' ruin was,' as Fuller justly remarks, 'their extraordinary wealth—King Philip could not get the honey unless he burnt the bees.'

The vast property of the order was ostensibly transferred to their rivals, the Knights Hospitallers, but by far the greater portion found its way into the hands of the king and his unworthy favourites. A few months after these proceedings, William de la More, Master of the Temple, died in his dungeon in the Tower, and many others, who had been set at liberty, became dependent for daily sustenance on the charity of their brother orders.

The deaths of King Philip and Pope Clement the Fifth, which followed soon after, were viewed by popular opinion as direct judgments of heaven; and throughout all Europe, the cruel and unjustifiable proceedings against the Templars, added to the hostility which already existed against the papal power. In our own land, the iniquitous proceedings of the ecclesiastical council deepened the hatred with which the church courts had always been viewed. The contrast of the open tribunal, the clear statement of facts, the rigid examination of witnesses, and the trial by jury, of our common law courts, with the close council, the hearsay evidence, the interested witnesses, the foreign judges, above all, the torture of the ecclesiastical courts, was too strongly marked not to deepen that hatred tenfold. And thus we find, not only in the writings of Wickliffe, but also in the rude satire of Piers Ploughman, and the keen sarcasms of Chaucer, abundant proofs how unendurable they had become. An emphatic comment does history, from the time of the Albigenses, and of that illustrious order whose career we have contemplated, afford upon those divine words, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Whenever the church has sought to wield the temporal sword, its character has become utterly changed; for whether the church court has been presided over by a pope or a consistory, an archbishop or a synod, its proceedings have ever been distinguished by a contempt of human rights, and a recklessness of human suffering, far beyond what the annals of the worst civil tribunals can show.

Art. VI. *Children's Employment Commission. First Report of the Commissioners. Appendices, or Reports of the Sub-Commissioners.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

It is neither our intention nor our province to repeat the details of those revolting practices connected with the employment of females, which have been brought before the public by the labours of this commission. These have already obtained such a share of attention from the daily and weekly press, that there are probably few of our readers who have not become acquainted with some of the most striking evils resulting from so degrading a system. The re-publication, too, in some of the cheapest and most popular newspapers, of the wood-cuts illustrating the more outrageous modes of female labour, which have been introduced in the Reports, has rendered these enormities somewhat familiar to the apprehension of the many.

The commission, whose report is now before us, was appointed on the motion of Lord Ashley. Four gentlemen acted as commissioners, of whom two were factory inspectors, and the other two were Thomas Tooke, Esq., and Dr. Southwood Smith. The secretary of state then appointed, at intervals, twenty gentlemen as sub-commissioners, by whom, in point of fact, all the labour of the commission has been executed. To each of these gentlemen was assigned the district which the commissioners judged him best capable of investigating; and the reports of the whole of them form the collection presented in the Appendices, of which the commissioners themselves have merely given an abstract, accompanied with a few general conclusions. The volumes now made public include all such as relate to mines and metal works; and by far the greater proportion relates to coal-mines. A subsequent series (although much less extensive and important) will embrace reports from all such manufactories as employ large numbers of persons under eighteen years of age; and upon the presentation of this series the commissioners themselves promise an abstract of all the evidence collected for them upon the moral condition of the persons under notice. Their first Report now published, refers only to the employment and physical condition of young persons and children; but the sources from which they have compiled it, — namely, the reports of the sub-commissioners, are laid before parliament in their complete form. We have therefore all the documents upon which the commissioners *have* grounded their inferences, in reference to the physical condition of our juvenile mining population, and all those upon which they *will* found their views in reference to the educational and moral condition of the same class.

It is probable that such a plan was the best which could

be devised, not merely for the immediate purpose of ascertaining how children were employed in mines, but also for collecting and arranging a complete body of authentic information as to the general theory and practice of mining in Great Britain, and as to the exact state of education and moral conduct amongst her miners. With the former points we have perhaps less to do than with the latter, yet we had hoped to possess in these Reports a more systematic and precise account of the economy of mines than they furnish. Some districts, and these are fortunately the most important, including that of the Newcastle collieries, have received as minute and judicious an investigation as the time would allow. But to require a complete report of the enormous Newcastle mines, and an exploration of their recesses, in the short space of three months was, when all the obstacles detailed are taken into consideration, together with the extent of the other branches of the inquiry, an exaction of labour so severe, that we do not wonder to find the commissioners reporting of the sub-commissioners, 'that nearly all of them incurred serious indisposition,' which compelled one of them to relinquish his engagement, and very much impeded some others. Numerous other circumstances might combine to render the results of the labours of these inquirers unequally satisfactory, and we shall say no more than that the loose and even ungrammatical style observable in one or two of the reports, might as well have been avoided. The plain facts, too, connected with the employment of females and young children in coal-mines, are so striking as to suffer, in effect, by long gossiping comments. A parliamentary report on such a subject should be written in a cautious, severe, and concise style. We are much gratified with the plan adopted by some of the gentlemen, of making the larger portion of their documents to consist of the 'evidence' collected from the principals, agents, working adults, and children themselves. By this arrangement the reader is enabled to assume the position of a judge, and he only refers to the actual report of the sub-commissioner for concise explanations, or for elucidations of matters which could not conveniently be made to assume the form of evidence.

We have said that we suppose our readers to be in some measure acquainted with the enormities brought to light, in reference to the employment of females in mines, and the apprenticeship of very young pauper children to subterranean duties. We shall therefore merely add, that such practices are chiefly confined to the East of Scotland, and some parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, &c. In the coal-fields of the East of Scotland, the greatest number of female children are employed, the proportion being one female under thirteen years of age to ten males. With

respect to the general management of collieries as matters of business, and of colliers as workmen, we gather from a perusal of the reports, precisely what will be in accordance with the expectations of all—namely, that the more extensive and valuable the mines, the more systematic and scientific are the arrangements for conducting them. A glance at coal-pits on the most extensive scale will be a necessary preliminary to our remarks upon the people who work them.

The pits at Newcastle have long been celebrated as by far the largest and most important in the world, and these we take as the best example. Those who desire a minute and elaborate account of them, must refer to the report and evidence upon that district by J. R. Leifchild, Esq. That gentleman has illustrated his details by maps and plans of various kinds, which initiate attentive readers into all the mysteries of these Cimmerian regions. The general map of the mines, which he has prefixed to his report, shows this district to be a very conglomerate of collieries, all communicating with the river Tyne by a complete net-work of waggon-ways or colliery railroads. In the tract of country lying between the mouths of the rivers Wear and Blyth, it would almost seem that one could scarcely take any direction without encountering a coal-pit. It is utterly beyond our power and our limits to follow the sub-commissioner through all the details of his folio, of more than two hundred well-filled pages. We can only stay to bestow a look here and there, and to indicate the references to those who seek full information on the various points in question. Mr. Leifchild first reports concisely upon the general subjects of inquiry, and then enters into matters of detail connected with the establishment and management of collieries. These portions form what is denominated the 'Report,' to which we shall refer by the number of paragraphs. Then follows the overwhelming mass of 'Evidence,'—that is, of the depositions of the principals, agents, work-people, medical men, clergymen, and other persons in the district, who were possessed of information upon the subjects under consideration. The witnesses thus examined were six hundred and sixty-eight.

Some idea of the importance of a Newcastle pit may be formed, from the fact, that the expense of sinking a single shaft, including outfits and machinery, varies from 10,000*l.* to 40,000*l.*, most frequently approaching to the latter. (§ 204.) There are commonly two shafts sunk, one called the 'downcast,' and the other the 'upcast' shaft; or in cases of mining difficulty, one shaft is made to answer the purpose of two by a longitudinal partition. From the position of the most valuable seams of coal, the perpendicular depths of these shafts are greater than those of any other coal-mining district. The depths of three out of the twelve

which the sub-commissioner descended are, 1044, 1070, and 1590 feet, the last being, we believe, the deepest in the world. All these three are 'upcast shafts,'—that is, they are, in fact, the chimnies by which the smoke and vitiated air of the pit escape. A roaring furnace blazes at the bottom of each such shaft, for the purpose of accelerating the upward course of the vitiated air; and the visitor to the mine, when, as in these cases, the other shaft is not accessible, has literally to perform the far from agreeable duty of descending an apparently interminable chimney. 'My sensations,' says the sub-commissioner, 'during the descent and ascent of the upcast shafts, enabled me fully to appreciate the complaints of the witnesses in reference to them.' (§ 34.) The unpleasantness must be by no means diminished by the liberality with which one is offered the choice of an oscillating coal-basket, sometimes, indeed, banging against the sides of the shaft, or a 'loop' at the end of the rope for the accommodation of one leg, the other being left free as a kind of rudder. The whole arrangements for ascending and descending are described in § 215—222. Certainly the 'cage' which slides upon perpendicular rods or rails must be the most safe and agreeable. The cost of a pair of ropes for the deepest shaft is 550*l.*, and the weight of this pair five tons and three-quarters; yet they last only about ten months.

The visitor is lowered or raised by the same means as the coals,—viz., steam-engines. The accumulation of steam power for 'winding' and pumping at most of these collieries is very great, and must be worked at considerable cost to the proprietor.

The plates representing the mode of working and ventilating these enormous mines, which Mr. Leifchild has liberally supplied, enable us to form some idea of a region which we apprehend few, if any, of our readers have ever beheld. We scarcely know how, in the absence of the plates, to convey a better representation of the ground plan of a pit, than by requesting them to suppose themselves looking down upon a window lying in a horizontal position upon the ground. If they imagine this window to be a very old fashioned one, in which the panes of glass are small and numerous, and the intervening wooden or leaden strips broad, and frequently intersected, they will possess a tolerable notion of the appearance of the plan of a coal-pit on the Tyne. The panes of glass will represent the pillars of coal left to support the roof, and the intersecting strips will stand for the passages by which the coal is brought to the shaft, and the pit traversed. The coal is excavated upon this plan, and the greater the quantity of coal obtained, the more numerous these passages and pillars; so that the horizontal section of a coal-mine presents the appearance of a large piece of panel

work. When the vein of coal becomes inconveniently situated, or inferior in quality, any further increase of the dimensions of the mine is abandoned, and the pillars themselves are worked off as far as is consistent with safety. Various indications of the instability of the roof are given during the progress of the pillar working, which are aptly denominated 'active and quiescent creep,' since the floor and roof of the mine exhibit a tendency, more or less violent, to unite, in consequence of the pressure of the superincumbent strata. When this tendency is very decisive, the remaining props of wood are knocked out, with very considerable risk of life, and the mine is finally relinquished. (§ 200—214.)

The pits in this district abound in inflammable gases to a far greater extent than is known in any other. Here, therefore, alone is the ventilation of a coal-mine a matter of complicated system and science. Mr. Leifchild has traced this system from its early and very imperfect state, to its present really wonderful development. (§ 160—193.) We cannot pretend to follow him in this interesting account, and can only notice that the general outline of the practice appears to be this:—A large and constantly flaming furnace placed at the bottom of one shaft, or one division of a shaft, creates a draught by which the pure air is brought down the cool or 'downcast' shaft, and expelled by the heated or 'upcast' shaft. Between the periods of its suction and expulsion, it has been made, by the intervention of various stoppings, partitions, crossings, and doors, to permeate every one of the passages of the vast mine. It has, in fact, been controlled and regulated like a stream in a canal, by the aid of locks, but in a far more complicated manner. By the introduction of this stream of pure air, the noxious and inflammable gases are diluted, and finally carried away through the upcast shaft.

This dilution cannot, however, always be effected to a sufficient extent. Hence the fearful explosions with which we have from time to time been made acquainted. Either the quantity of pure air is insufficient, or the course of the current is deranged by accident or neglect. In either case the inflammable gases predominate and explode at the first contact with flame. Several pages of this report are devoted to the consideration of the causes, effects, and possible preventives of such catastrophes, and extensive tables of their number, and the circumstances connected with each, are introduced. There exists also a great variety of causes productive of accidents less destructive in their effects than explosions of carburetted hydrogen gas. There are casualties arising from partial inundations; falls down the shaft; falls of coal or stone from the roof (a very frequent case); and

the upsetting of coal-waggons. These mostly terminate in the injury or death of one, two, or three individuals. They are, however, exceedingly numerous, as is evinced by the mention of some remarkable facts, and by the very slight sensation which their occurrence occasions. Any injury terminating short of death appears to be considered in the district as too trifling for sympathy or record. A colliery surgeon is provided, and what more can owners and agents be expected to do than to secure the means of amputation, and to put the sufferer on the quarter-pay list? So say the owners themselves; and truly, the only objection refers to the origin of the accident. Is *every* precaution adopted? This question has many bearings, but the evidence and remarks of the sub-commissioner induce us to conclude that nothing short of general government supervision, devoid, indeed, of all vexatious interference, will compel attention to minute arrangements for safety. A pit can be conducted consistently with *ordinary* safety, and yet at the same time, far from consistently with *perfect* safety. In some less important districts than that under consideration, the least possible expenditure which can render a mine workable, seems to be considered all that is necessary. Certainly, in the Newcastle district, a vast outlay is incurred for the general security and comfort of the mine; nevertheless, it is indisputable, that an additional expenditure, not very considerable, would, in all probability, ensure its entire safety. We have not space to fortify this conclusion by extracts from the Report before us, but it is one at which most careful readers of that document will arrive. From the tables there published of accidents arising from explosions and casualties, 'it may be stated that, *at the very least*, fifteen hundred lives have been sacrificed in or about the Tyne and Wear collieries in little more than the last forty years.' (§ 234.) Further observations evince that this computation is unquestionably the minimum. No records of deaths, nor, indeed, of accidents, are kept in the mining districts, and these tables were constructed with great difficulty from extraneous sources of information, and from the recollection of such agents as were willing to task their memories. During the brief period in which Mr. Leifchild was pursuing his investigations, no less than forty lives were lost in or about these pits. Thirty-two of these were sacrificed at one time by the explosion of a pit, while that gentleman was in its vicinity. He immediately descended the exploded mine, and the minute details which he collected from the agent, together with its illustrative plan, place the awful scene before us most vividly. A very pleasing trait in the character of the miners is, their cheerfulness and courage in rendering all the assistance in their power after such explosions,

even when they are necessarily within the precincts of immediate danger—a second and more violent explosion frequently taking place. The description of the moment at which such an event was really expected by the oldest and most stout-hearted in this mine (for it had taken fire and was in a blaze), is more interesting than the crisis of any novel we ever read. We regret that we cannot make room for it.

The supposed cause of this explosion, and of many others, brings us to a very important point. It appears that in those passages of the mine where a constant transit of coal-waggons renders a ‘stopping,’ or air-lock inadmissible, wooden doors called ‘trap doors,’ are erected. These are tended by mere children from six to ten years of age, whose duty it is to open them when a train of coal-waggons is near, and to close them instantly after its departure. By this means the traffic of the pit is carried on consistently with the existence of ventilation. If, however, a boy tending an important door neglect to close it, the immediate consequence is a derangement of the ventilation in that part of the pit. According to the period which elapses before this neglect is discovered, is the degree of danger. In some positions, the opening of a trap door for half-an-hour will peril the lives of every human being in the mine. Now, in the above instance, the agent himself unhesitatingly acknowledged that the inevitable conclusion derivable from all the evidence offered is, that one little boy went to play with another similarly engaged, and that in this childish neglect must be found the cause of the almost momentary death of thirty-two persons, and that, too, in the most horrible manner, as his own description testifies. Another explosion, distinctly traceable to the same cause, the neglect of a door-keeper, occurred shortly afterwards, by which nine lives were lost, all the victims but one being young persons and children. A plan of the pit in which this catastrophe occurred exhibits the parts of the mine in which the bodies were found. ‘In adverting,’ says the sub-commissioner, ‘to the tremendous responsibility unconsciously incurred by these almost infantile keepers of the lives of scores of human beings, all their superiors in age, and commonly including their own fathers, we cease to regard the door-keeper as a mere mechanical adjunct to the mine. Viewed in this light, the onus of his duty can scarcely be overrated,’ &c. ‘How many mining catastrophes are due to the negligence of door-keepers, it is neither possible to affirm, nor judicious to conjecture, inasmuch as the violence of the explosion at the spot where it originates, usually sweeps away all indications of its immediate cause. While few explosions have happened, the origin of which has been so distinctly traced, and so readily assigned to the heed-

lessness of trappers (other cases are enumerated), yet the liability to such fatal occurrences is neither disputed nor diminished.' (§ 67.)

Much evidence is given upon the possible substitutes for these trappers, which is deserving of serious attention; but, again to quote the reporter,—

'Whether the boys may be advantageously replaced by old men, or whether the doors may be so constructed as to act without the intervention of human agency, may long remain questions open in theory, while they are decided in practice; nor does it appear that it will be ascertained how far the problem admits of a mechanical solution until some more powerful incitement to its investigation shall be brought into operation.' (§ 69.)

These trappers are the youngest boys in the pit, although their duties are amongst the most important. The facility with which they may be performed causes the employment of mere children, who of course receive children's wages. The pith of the objections taken by agents and owners to all plans proposed for the adoption of other aid, appears to lie far more in the greater cost of such aid, than in its presumed inefficiency.

The coal is obtained by means of blasting and the use of the ordinary pick. The men who extract it are denominated 'hewers.' They tear down the coal, and a class of stout boys from 14 to 18 years of age, called 'putters,' fill the baskets or tubs with the coal, and then 'put' or propel and drag their loads on a small carriage placed upon a railway, until they reach a crane in a more open and higher part of the mine. By this crane the loads are transferred to waggons ('rollies') drawn by horses, and the horses are driven by the class of boys called 'drivers,' whose ages vary from 11 or 12, to 14 or 15. The only other large class of boys are the trappers before mentioned; but there are numerous small companies of boys employed in assisting the putters and drivers in various ways. Some take in wood for propping the pit, and carry back water; some clean the waggon or railway, to render the transit facile and uninterrupted; some 'help up' the putters when a difficult place is to be passed; others perform desultory work about the various parts of the mine. The margin of the top of the shaft and its immediate neighbourhood, in the open air, is called the 'bank,' and thereabouts are employed a number of adults and boys. The boys pick out stones and impurities from the coal, or assist the men who are engaged in transferring the coal-baskets as they come from the pit to the railway which leads to the place of shipment. Such is a very brief abstract of the catalogue and descriptions laid before us of the chief employments below and above ground. (§ 197—214.)

The 'putters' (a term which is generic, and admits of distinctions

in reference to the ages and duties of the boys) are those who undergo the greatest actual labour in proportion to their ages. They are consequently usually muscular to an excessive degree, and equally impudent. They will work for periods incredible to agricultural and town-bred youths, and at labour, one day of which would render the latter, claimants for a month's holiday for the purpose of regaining their strength. The number of putters who state that they have repeatedly pursued their exhausting duties for twenty-four and even thirty-six consecutive hours, is very far from inconsiderable. 'In endeavours temporarily to increase his earnings, the putter is frequently regardless of fatigue, and were he permitted, would oftentimes only terminate his toil by entire physical exhaustion.' (§ 56.) Their ignorance is as incredible as their physical endurance; the question of their own age sometimes involving too complicated a mental process to secure an answer. The ability to spell their names is far from common.

The drivers are not engaged in employments so laborious as the putters, but they are much more exposed to the 'dangers of the road.' A kick from an unruly horse, a fall from an unsteady waggon, or a collision with a brother driver's train, are the ordinary varieties of their daily life. Unfortunately, the effects of such events are not always trifling. Hence a majority of the drivers can detail a catalogue of injuries which we should rather expect from an old soldier than a young pit-boy. A broken leg or arm has frequently fallen to the share of a driver, but then an invincible tendency to recover most speedily and astonishingly from a calamity which would have finally disabled an ordinary town lad, is to be taken as a set-off against their excess of liability to accident. 'Smart money,' a kind of quarter-pay when they are temporarily laid aside from such causes, is their chief solace, and also that of all injured pitmen.

We have already alluded to the trappers. As to the external man of a pit-worker, we must look to the adults.

'The 'outward man' distinguishes a pitman from every other operative. His stature is diminutive, his figure disproportionate and misshapen; his legs being much bowed; his chest protruding (the *thoracic* region being unequally developed). His countenance is not less striking than his figure; his cheeks being generally hollow, his brow overhanging, his cheek bones high, his forehead low and retreating; nor is his appearance healthful; his habit is tainted with scrofula. I have seen agricultural labourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and even those among the wan and distressed stocking weavers of Nottinghamshire, to whom the term 'jolly' might not be inaptly applied, but I never saw a 'jolly-looking' pitman.' (No. 496.)

We observe that tables of the numbers employed at each colliery give an aggregate of 8503 adults, 2218 boys, and 1514

children (or boys under 13 years of age), as engaged in the collieries which ship their produce by the Tyne. At least 20,000 persons are employed in the Tyne and Wear collieries.

Upon a consideration of the physical injury inflicted, and the outward evils superinduced, by the labours of the children in the pits, we cannot enter at large, inasmuch as our limited space will prevent us from doing full justice to the inquiry. We quite agree with the sub-commissioner himself, who observes—

‘That the circumstances of the occupation of the trapper are physically innocuous, the evidence, by assertion or omission, will by no means establish—that they are mentally and morally pernicious, can scarcely be denied. While a determinate analysis of the former, which should assign to each cause its due proportion of effect may be impracticable and unnecessary, it is no unwarrantable assumption to affirm that the unbroken monotony of the duty, in conjunction with its duration, and the darkness, solitude, and other peculiarities of the scene of its performance, must at least indurate the susceptibilities of feeling, obstruct intellectual activity, and nourish a state of mental vacuity that diminishes the capabilities of receiving instruction.’ (§ 62.)

The fact that annual removals from one mine to another are both practicable and customary, had certainly struck us as demonstrating the impossibility of oppression towards the children. The following remarks, however, are important, and militate against this conclusion:—

‘One of the most specious objections, however, to the possibility of oppression on the part of mining employers is that of the facility of removal on the part of the employed to another colliery. Hence it has been deduced, as an almost axiomatic inference, that no unwarrantable exactions of labour from men or boys can exist. Now it must be conceded, that this facility of locomotion tends to the establishment of an approximate equilibrium of pressure throughout the district in the matter of remuneration for labour. A preponderance of difficulties in any one colliery must be counterbalanced by a proportionate relief in the increase of wages. A promise of additional pay will restore the equilibrium from any oscillation; but these advantages can be participated in only by the men and the elder boys. The mere striplings and children remain or remove with their parents; and should the father be affected by preferences for one colliery, the child cannot depart to another. The condition of the pit may render the labour of the ‘foal’ or ‘half marrow’ especially oppressive, while the work of the hewer is uninfluenced by that condition, or may be especially easy. In the instance of a still more selfish and unnatural parent, the very extremity of the child’s labour may be the cause of its prolongation. The wages are proportioned to the difficulties, but the difficulties are borne only by the unbenefited child, while his whole earnings are yielded to the father, ministering to his cupidity, if not to his extravagance.’— (§ 43.)

It must be observed that the same long hours of labour, namely, twelve, are exacted in every mine in this district. Thirteen or fourteen hours, however, usually elapse between the departure and return of a boy to his home, which he commonly leaves at four in the morning, and does not again reach till five or six in the evening. In addition to less obvious evils, frequent complaints were made by the children of headache, nausea, deficiency of appetite, and even of an habitual tendency to eructate. (§ 74.) Upon physical considerations merely, we should dispassionately demand the interference of the state, and agree with the reporter, who says—

‘Upon the extent to which the evils of the case are tangible by legislation, it is not the province of your sub-commissioner to enlarge; but it certainly appears to him that no valid objection has been, or can be, taken to at least a limitation of the age at which children are introduced to the mine.’

And here for the present we must leave this matter, merely adding, that whatever claims may be made in reference to children in these mines, such claims are applicable with threefold force to smaller colliery districts, where far greater inhumanities are practised, though upon a much less number of children.

So large a population of miners have naturally become marked by distinctions of conduct and carriage scarcely less conspicuous than those of their persons. We find, however, that many errors have been promulgated respecting their present habits and peculiarities, in a late popular work upon Newcastle and the north. Their past follies were there spoken of as their present characteristics, but, according to Mr. Leifchild,

‘Most of those extraordinary peculiarities of dress and habit, which in former years rendered the genuine pitman a truly remarkable being, have, at the present day, become either materially softened down, or utterly obsolete. Their diet-roll, from the scantiness of a pit-bait, to the luxury of a ‘singing hinney,’ (a rich kneaded cake, so called from the sound it emits when warming,) has undergone alterations; and their language, though even now unintelligible to a stranger, includes far less of the phraseology and accent that must have mainly excluded them from intercourse with all but their ‘marrows’ (or companions). (§ 14.)

We subjoin the following extracts, as elucidating the origin of the differences between employer and employed, so disastrous in this district, and so instructive at the present perilous period:—

‘Although less manageable by strangers, the colliers would seem to have been more manageable by their masters in those their palmy days than at present. The employers seldom meddled with their fancies or

their quarrels, and the men in return seldom interfered with their masters, to whom perhaps they evinced more of the attachment of customary subserviency than is ever now witnessed. Immemorial usages were considered almost tantamount to law. The periodical hirings were probably gone through as a mere matter of form, and the hired spent their money and their lives too with little knowledge of, and less care for, what was going on in the great world above and around them. The hours of labour were longer, and the labour itself harder to men and to boys; but temporary ebullitions of the despotism of the employers and of the turbulence of the employed, subsiding ere they had arrived at the temperature of a 'stick or strike,' were the only discordances in the affairs of the colliery. The spirit of mining speculation had not then extended beyond the Tyne and the Wear, and the magnesian limestone of the southern portion of the coal-field was still permitted to conceal the subjacent fuel.

When, however, the new sources of supply were penetrated, and new collieries were one after another blackening the features of the southerly country—when general competition diminished individual profit, and diminished profits were sought to be increased by diminished wages—then attempted the men to oppose by the force of combination, and then ensued those wranglings and conflicts that could end only in disastrous results to both parties. The masters were no longer ready to afford the usual hiring bounty to the men, and the men were unwilling to accede to the terms of the masters; a strike was the inevitable consequence, at first naturally partial, at length, compulsorily, almost general.' (§ 15, 16.)

One of the most extensive strikes or combinations was that of 1831-2. In detailing the proceedings of the unionists, the sub-commissioner observes—

'Their tactics were rather to stop the supplies and to annoy the enemy, than to rush on to a close contest. Ejected from their tenements, they encamped adjacently in lines of tents, whence issued no niggardly expressions of disapprobation at the passing of an obnoxious viewer. But the viewer *could* pass, and, though secretly armed, there was not, perhaps, great necessity for his precautions, as the men appeared perfectly aware that in jeopardizing his safety they hazarded their own; and colliers do not appear over anxious to run risks out of the mine. Occasional detachments sallied forth, with a show of aggression, and deployed into a motley front. An attack on a well-known viewer's residence was announced; they found it in the possession of a little armed band, abated their valour, and expended the remnants in petty mischief. Some heinous crimes were, however, committed,' &c. (§ 19, 20.)

The result of the whole ebullition was the ultimate return of the miners to their mines, and of their substitutes to their old homes.

'A strong organization of resistance on both sides was daily displayed for a considerable portion of the year, and as no symptoms of

concession had appeared, the masters were importing numerous adventurers by coach, and their furniture by stage-waggon, from Wales, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, &c., to supply the place of the native pitmen. Bands of Welsh miners were marshalled by agents of the employers, and introduced to the northern collieries; and, notwithstanding the deprecatory warnings of the pitmen, exhibited in the publication of a broad-sheet list of accidents 'by fire and flood,' they descended the mines, but were found incompetent for the labours; and as their reception by the native colliers was more public than pleasing, and the danger of explosions of turbulence above ground as imminent as that of explosions of gas below, dreadfully thinned by the cholera, the immigrants gradually retreated to their old districts, and scarcely one of them is now to be found remaining in the north.' (§ 21.)

'To their gregarious habits, clannishness, and moral insulation, are assignable numerous anomalies and evils, physical and moral, observable amongst the pit population.

'As a main cause of these,' continues the sub-commissioner, 'may be noticed the entire absence of resident gentry. At the winning of a new colliery the erection of long rows of unpicturesque cottages—the arrival of waggons piled with ill-assorted furniture—the immediate importation of the very scum and offscouring of a peculiar, mischievous, and unlettered race—the novelties introduced, with almost fabled rapidity, into the external features of the country—dense volumes of rolling smoke—the endless clatter of endless strings of coal-waggons—the funereal colour imparted to the district—are surely sufficient to untenant the seats of the wealthy, and untenanted do they speedily become. The arrival of the pitmen is the signal for the departure of the gentry, and henceforward few indeed visit that district but they who traffic with the coals or the colliers.' (§ 31.)

This leads us to the moral and educational condition of the mining population, a topic which we must reserve for another opportunity, and therefore take leave, for the present, of the sub-commissioner, whose report has furnished the materials for our present paper.

P.S.—Since the above was penned, the Mines and Collieries Bill has been making its way to the House of Lords, where it has now (July 18th) been read a second time. As 'amended,' (i.e., opposed and frittered down,) it provides, with reference to under-ground labour, that females shall be excluded from mines, and also boys under ten; that boys aged between ten and thirteen shall be employed only on alternate days; and that apprenticeships shall only be applicable to boys aged between ten and eighteen. In reference to surface work, no lads under fifteen can be entrusted with the machinery whereby human beings are let down into the pit or brought up from it.

Art. VII. *Parliamentary Debates on National Distress. Morning Chronicle and the Times.*

WHAT would be thought of a doctor, who, instead of attending to his patient, of watching his symptoms, of promptly applying the best remedies, and, upon their failure, resorting to others, should rarely visit him, should doubt his testimony of painful sensations, and though implored to examine the case attentively, and to adopt such measures as were needful, should smile at the groans of the sinking man, or coldly speculate on the various causes that had produced his disorder, or bid the patient trust to the medicine of time? Such a doctor is her Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury, and the people of Great Britain are the patients under his care! If the government had been worthy of its power and the confidence of the people, one of its first acts in the early part of this session would have been to issue a commission to inquire into the public distress. Such a commission need not have been gratuitous, and would not have shewn any very supernatural virtue; for it is one of the first and greatest duties of a government, to be soundly informed of the state of the people. Commissions of inquiry are not very rare things in parliament when no unwelcome results are anticipated, and the gentlemen of neither faction are chargeable with reluctance to be found in such jobs. Even if such a commission had been both difficult and unpopular, a patriotic minister would have insisted upon its operation, on the principle that it was neither safe to neglect rumours nor to legislate in the dark. If such a plain duty had been performed, the government would have received the thanks of the considerate, and, at the same time, have kept up the jaded hope of the working classes.

But what are the facts? No commission has been issued, and none intended; and even the cheaper mode of resolving the house into a committee, to report on the national distress, has been opposed as virulently as if the motion had been to abrogate the connexions of the state church, or to abolish the peerage. But why should the government be afraid of inquiry? Does it discredit the national distress? Then why not prove by facts and figures that this distress has been overdrawn by party pens—that people have both good food and good beds—that the earnings of the people are still sufficient, and that the employment of capital is neither hazardous nor profitless. Here was a fine occasion for the government to put down the traders in distress, as the organs of the government insolently term the advocates of untaxed food. A few days of fearless inquiry at Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, would have crushed the falsehood of the free traders, and the ministry might have flouted the members of the league with the returns of 'The Distress Commission.' In-

stead, however, of this manly and natural course, the government have wasted the session in a vain and shameless attempt to muffle the voice of suffering, to draw the eyes of the hungry multitudes to fêtes and mock tragedies; public attention has been draughted from our artisans eating their sad meal once in twelve or twenty-four hours, to mock regicides, and magnificent baptisms of future kings and queens; and the multitudes of beggared capitalists, merchants, and tradesmen, have produced less effect on the aristocracy, than the new music set to the *Stabat Mater dolorosa* by Rossini, who has more charms for the members of parliament than the agonies of the empire have. In the meantime, the people have told their own tale. A far better commission of inquiry has been employed by themselves, and the results of their inquiries have appalled the sufferers with the proof that the distress exceeds even their fears. Much is owing by the population at large to those brave and humane men, who, in different parts of the country, have sought out the details of misery. In Manchester, this work has been done by the League, and some independent gentlemen. In Leeds, a few public-spirited men of all parties have published their statistics of ruin. In Sheffield, the Rev. Mr. Bayley has compiled the case of the unemployed cutlers. In Coventry, Peak, Paisley, and a hundred other places, men have been found to do the same service which the government ought spontaneously to have done for all.

Not only has no commission to inquire into the distress been issued, but the gratuitous supply of information by the League, and other bodies of the people who have revealed to the government the ruinous state of the country, has been treated with contempt; its compilers have been denounced as preachers of sedition, and as long as it was safe to disdain all their communications, it was done. Mr. Cobden, in parliament, has been the butt of aristocratic ridicule and reproach; the manufacturers have been denounced to their workmen as monsters of cupidity and tyranny; vile attempts have been made to urge the people to an attack on machinery; farces of mock tenderness and zeal have been enacted for chimney-sweeps, factory children, and women working in mines, while the iniquitous cause, that has driven the children and wives of our operatives to these employments, has been defended on the imaginary ground of the peculiar burdens of land! A sensible and an upright government would have been grateful for information by whomsoever collected, and the thanks of the House of Commons should have been given to the men who have spent their money and time in circulating the valuable statistics which the League has brought to light, and which would never have transpired but for their meritorious and unremitting labours.

That we may assume nothing which is not proved, we first invite the attention of our readers to the following statistics, which we shall preface with a tabular view of the frightful increase of pauperism. This document is published on the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners, and applies to districts *purely agricultural*, where it is boasted by the aristocracy, and admitted by the advocates of free trade, that the condition of the labourer is *now* the best.

STATEMENT of the Amount expended for Relief and Maintenance of the Poor in 1837, 1838, and 1840, exclusive of Manufacturing Counties.

(Extracted from the Seventh Annual Report of Poor Law Commissioners.)

Counties.	Average of 1837-8.	1840.	Increase.	
	£	£	£	
Bedfordshire . . .	37,486	39,889	2,403	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.
Berkshire . . .	57,952	70,125	12,173	22 per cent.
Buckinghamshire .	62,481	72,367	9,886	15 per cent.
Cambridge . . .	50,654	75,745	15,091	25 per cent.
Cheshire . . .	69,302	75,894	6,592	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Cornwall . . .	70,950	77,633	6,683	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Cumberland . . .	32,555	37,006	4,451	13 per cent.
Derbyshire . . .	48,601	53,635	5,034	11 per cent.
Devonshire . . .	165,572	194,361	28,789	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Dorsetshire . . .	60,899	81,373	20,474	34 per cent.
Essex . . .	149,005	165,340	16,335	11 per cent.
Gloucester . . .	108,526	125,168	16,642	16 per cent.
Herefordshire . . .	37,509	42,226	4,717	12 per cent.
Hertfordshire . . .	51,116	56,126	5,010	10 per cent.
Huntingdonshire . .	23,432	25,123	1,691	7 per cent.
Kent . . .	179,761	193,526	13,765	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Leicestershire . . .	60,194	63,604	3,410	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.
Lincolnshire . . .	104,824	99,860	—	
Monmouthshire . . .	18,894	21,897	3,003	16 per cent.
Norfolk . . .	172,661	181,058	8,397	5 per cent.
Northamptonshire .	75,612	83,171	7,559	10 per cent.
Northumberland . .	60,404	65,416	5,012	8 per cent.
Nottinghamshire . .	50,782	53,407	2,625	4 per cent.
Oxfordshire . . .	65,398	74,585	9,187	13 per cent.
Rutlandshire . . .	6,450	7,246	796	12 per cent.
Shropshire . . .	53,928	55,022	1,094	2 per cent.
Somersetshire . . .	127,388	156,059	28,671	22 per cent.
Southampton . . .	124,557	141,694	17,137	13 per cent.
Staffordshire . . .	82,500	92,835	10,335	12 per cent.
Suffolk . . .	133,776	141,536	7,760	6 per cent.
Surrey . . .	153,448	169,952	16,504	11 per cent.
Sussex . . .	118,554	144,128	25,574	23 per cent.
Wiltshire . . .	109,447	133,468	24,021	23 per cent.
Worcestershire . . .	54,187	60,530	6,343	11 per cent.
York, East Riding . }	120,456	126,445	5,987	5 per cent.
" North " }				
Total . . . £.	2,909,351	3,257,540	353,153	{ Total Increase, 12 per cent.

Such is the increase of the poor rates in those districts of the country that for fifteen years have divided the spoil of the corn laws. The leprosy has at length reached the agricultural oppressors of trade; and if, in a state of prosperity, the increase of the poor rates has outrun the increase of people, the time is not distant when the storm will again burst on the farm, and poor rates will join with tithe in devouring rent. Before we quit this subject, we beg the attention of the reader again to the foregoing table. Agriculture has been prosperous; the markets for its produce are nearly all at its door; its profits have been great, and yet the wages of the labourer have not exceeded an average of 10s. per week! The *agricultural* poor rates have increased twelve per cent. in a time of unprecedented prosperity, and the landlords and their tenants charge the repealers of the Corn Law with cupidity! The agricultural class stoutly maintain the fallacy, that wages rise with the price of corn; through this falsehood they appeal to the prejudices of the labourers; and yet, though the price of corn has been both high and steady, there has been no material increase, but rather a fall, in the wages of farming labourers. If the aristocracy had declared that wages rose with the age of the moon, or with the progressions of the tide, the falsehood might have been more palpable, but it would not have been greater. The charge of cupidity levelled against the millocrats properly belongs to themselves, and no greater proof need be adduced, than a comparison of the wages of the artisan and the predial labourer.

Bad, however, as the case of the labourers on land is, the condition of the manufacturing districts is infinitely worse; and we cannot better supply the reader with a specimen of the state of the commercial districts, than by subjoining the following table. The arrangement is our own, but the materials have been supplied by men of all parties, and we fear the facts are even worse than our representations.

Place.	Population.	Trade.	Decrease of Wages per cent.	Increase of Poor- rates.	Remarks.
Rochdale . .	24,423	Woollen and cotton.	. . . . .	100 per cent. above 1836.	
Derby . . .	35,000	Silk and cotton.	50 per cent. since 1836.	Paupers in poor- house doubled.	
Leicester . .	50,932	Hosiery.	25 to 30 per cent.	Paupers in poor- house increased from 200 to 430.	One house that paid 500 <i>l.</i> weekly wages now pays only 200 <i>l.</i>
Nottingham .	53,080	Lace and hosiery .	25 per cent. since 1836.	100 per cent. since 1834.	Persons relieved within the last year nearly 5000.
Stockport . .	25,000	Cotton . .	25 per cent. since 1836.	300 per cent. since 1834 ; guardians in debt 5000 <i>l.</i>	Twenty-nine mills stopped.
Prescot . . .	6,000	Watches .	. . . . .	150 per cent. since 1836.	
Glasgow . .	12,000 on the relief fund.	Mercantile.	50 per cent. since 1834.	90 per cent. above 1836.	Annual increase of deaths, 462 !
Paisley . . .	60,000	Cotton . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	One-third of the po- pulation dependent on charity.
Manchester .	192,408	Cotton . .	30 to 35 per cent. since 1836.	. . . . .	On the whole cotton district, 7,000,000 <i>l.</i> per ann. less paid in wages than in 1836.
Kendall . . .	11,700	Woollen .	15,860 <i>l.</i> less paid per annum than a few years ago.		
Leigh	26,588	Cotton and silks . .	20 to 25 per cent. since 1836.		
Bolton . . . .	. . . . .	Cotton . .	201,600 <i>l.</i> less paid in wages than in 1836.	300 per cent. . .	1500 empty houses.
Colne	20,648	Cotton . .	35 per cent. less than 1831.	100 per cent. since 1836.	
Ashton-un- der-Lyne . .	. . . . .	Cotton . .	17 per cent. since 1836.	120 per cent. above 1836.	2000 out of employ.
Bury . . . . .	. . . . .	Cotton and machines.	Wages 50 per cent. since 1835.	120 per cent. above 1839.	
Oldham . . .	42,593	Cotton . .	. . . . .	Near 200 per cent. since 1836.	5000 out of employ.
West Brom- wich	43,902	Iron . . .	25 per cent. since 1836.	100 per cent. since 1838.	
Pontypool . .	14,000	Iron . . .	30 per cent. since 1838.	100 to 150 per cent. since 1835.	Population in 1838, 17,000, now only 14,000.
Sheffield . .	100,000	Cutlery . .	From 10 to 50 per cent. since 1836.	From 100 to 150 per cent. since 1836.	Poor-rates in town- ship of Sheffield alone, in an average quarter of 1836, 162 <i>l.</i> ; in 1842, 4253 <i>l.</i> !

If it be objected that this brief view of the condition of the people is not sufficiently ample to form a judgment of the case, we beg the reader's attention to two or three cases selected from a multitude before us, which would make a patriotic government tremble, and might even induce, for once, an aristocratic one, as the climax of its self-denial, to waive the pleasure of a prorogation.

Barnsley.

Such has been the state of trade in this district, that from 1838 to 1841 inclusive, sixteen linen manufacturers &c. have

failed, the amount of whose liabilities was £296,500, on which the dividend paid has not averaged one shilling in the pound. The following statement will still further illustrate the general depression of the manufacturers of that neighbourhood:—

From 1833 and 1835.

17 shops, containing 60 looms, earned per week, £22 14 6, or about 7s. 7d. per loom per week.

From 1839 to 1841.

17 shops, containing 60 looms, earned per week, £14 7 0, or 4s. 9½d. per ditto.

Difference - - - - £8 7 6 per week,
or 2s. 9¾d. per ditto.

Difference, 37 per cent., accompanied with a reduction in wages of about 12½ per cent., and a reduction in amount of employment of 24½ per cent.

Goods finished at the two principal Calenders.

No. 1, Calender.		No. 2, Calender.*	
1833	. . 55,984 pieces.	1836	} Total, 163,838.
1834	. . 55,228 —	1837	
1835	. . 57,229 —	1838	
Total 168,441 pieces.			
1839	. . 46,094 —	1839	} Total, 143,358.
1840	. . 34,071 —	1840	
1841	. . 33,966 —	1841	
Total 114,131 pieces.			
Deficiency - 54,310		Deficiency 20,480	

Leeds.

From 1838 to 1841, twenty-nine woollen houses in the township became insolvent with liabilities of 515,000*l.* Ten houses of another department failed, owing 38,100*l.* Eighteen firms of the flax and tow trade failed, whose debts were reckoned at 217,800*l.* Sixteen machine makers, whose capital amounted to 47,600*l.*, have also failed. Nine stuff houses and worsted spinners failed, whose liabilities were 457,800*l.*, making a total of loss by bankruptcies alone, of 1,451,000*l.*, which did not pay a dividend of 6s. 8d. in the pound.

* The years 1833 and 1835 could not be obtained, but they would probably have shown a greater deficiency.

Wages of			
Machinists have fallen	-	45 per cent. since	1835.
Common spinning	-	30	— 1835.
Handloom weavers		40	— 1833.
Cutlers	-	10 to 50	— 1835.
Combers	-	25 to 40	— 1834.
Tailors	-	10 to 25	— 1836.
Shoemakers	-	5 to 30	— 1834.
Builders	-	5 to 25	— 1836.

Bolton.

Out of fifty mills, which gave work to 8124 persons, thirty are either shut up, or partially employed. 2110 mechanics employed in 1836, now only 1325; carpenters at work in 1836, 150, now 49; bricklayers in 1837, 120, now 16; stonemasons in 1836, 150, now only 50; in 1836, five hundred tailors fully employed, now only about half the number.

Summary of particulars derived from a survey of the cases of distress in the borough of Bolton, December, 1841.

1003 families visited, consisting of 5305 persons.

	£	s.	d.
Their nett earnings per week were -	339	15	7
Parish relief and donations -	52	8	5
	392	4	0
Amount of weekly rents, if paid -	82	3	4
	£310	0	8
Left for food, fire, clothing, &c. -			

or making an average of 1s. 2d. to 1s. 2½d. per head per week.

There were 950 families, having in all—

1553 beds; more than half of these were filled with straw or chaff, &c.; and 716 were filled with flocks.

466 blankets were found, or about 10½ persons to each blanket.

53 families were wholly without beds; and

425 persons were sleeping on the floor.

Furniture found amongst the whole:—

2876 chairs.

642 stools.

3518 being about two seats for every three persons.

1380 tables.

511 families were accustomed to pawning, and 609 families had no change of linen.

Such is the state of the country at the close of the first conservative session, after an expulsion of the party for nearly ten

years from office. The times are altered, indeed, but the party may justly boast of its identity. The whigs complained, and justly, that their best projects were thwarted by the tories; some, in consequence, only exist in mutilated remains, and others have been abandoned altogether; but no such extenuation can be pleaded by the present government. The distress has spoken in every tone of emphasis and warning, but the ears of the aristocratic junto were deaf to the voice of sorrow. The distress wailed louder and more piteously, and then the government affected that it was the mere whine of party. Hunger gathered its multitudes at Stockport, Colne, and Dudley, in formidable array, and at length the slow-to learn government admitted the 'slight depression of trade.' Beaten from every subterfuge and shabby haunt of sophistry, and flouted with his own acts and speeches, silenced by the facts of working men, the premier at length confessed that the distress was incontrovertible. That point achieved, it might have been expected that the government would have speedily brought in a measure of relief; but no; the only symptom of quickened action was in the greater hurry with which it prepared for the recess! As long as it was possible to doubt the distress, it was denied; when that was established, then began the shuffle to mystify its causes, which was managed by Sir Robert Peel, we confess, with adroit evasion of the real evils. That minister knows both the cause and the remedy, as well as Mr. Cobden, but he is bound by party, and cannot be himself. He has fought the battle of the session almost alone. His partners in office have rendered little parliamentary services beyond their votes. All the drudgery of speech-making has fallen on the premier, whether of choice or necessity, we care not, but we rejoice that it has done so. Nothing can be hoped now from the possibilities of his silence. He has gloried in his great measure of reform, and his greater measure of finance, but he will gain no power from the former, and the recoil of the latter measure is to come. The tax is yet to be collected, the scrutinies are yet to be made, the auctions are yet to be held of the goods of the recusants, and we are deceived if he do not lose many from his own ranks in the country, when they feel the new screw of *taxation*, while the false sympathies that his party had created among the working classes by their mock denunciation of the Whig Poor Law, will be converted into contemptuous indignation.

Thanks to the power of truth; the confession is at length wrung from aristocratic lips, that the country is in peril from the popular suffering. It is no petty triumph that the labours of the friends of free trade should have forced this reluctant faith on the government; a faith, however, which,

being without any of the signs of virtuous and spontaneous action, is no more honourable to its possessors than the belief which the Thames or the Tower forces on its beholder. A more contemptuous opinion could not be expressed of the aristocracy, than is conveyed in their own tardy conversion to palpable truths. It is one of the invariable attributes of our lordly government to be the last to arrive at the truth. The signs of the times glare upon us in the famished thousands of our artisans, in the mills glutted with noiseless machinery, in the crowded poor houses, in the idle vessels that lie in our rivers, in the appalling increase of bankruptcies, in the rapid subsidence of wages and capital, and in the emigration to other shores, or in the retirement from business, of our manufacturers; but the glazed eye of aristocracy can only see 'some temporary distress at Nuncaton,' or 'a slight depression in the cotton district!' Prosperity has forsaken all the markets and the shops; men of all creeds wail over the ruin that has prostrated their trades, and are pale with apprehension of further calamities; and all that the government of Great Britain can be induced to say, is the reluctant admission that there 'is considerable derangement of the national commerce!'

Our notion of a government is, that it should be composed of men who are among the most sagacious of their age. They should be the first to see the danger, to lift the voice of warning, and to propose a sound and adequate remedy. Has this been the case with the government of our country? Committed as it is to alternations of the two factions of whig and tory, it has been the fate of the British empire to be the prey of both, and deep has been the injury it has sustained at their hands. The ultimatum of both factions is office; the calamity most dreaded by either is to be driven into opposition, and all the improvement that the nation obtains in the management of its affairs is derived from the party bidders out of place, who hang out the popular flag to beguile the people, and thus overthrow the antagonist faction. If the gifts of office could be enjoyed by both parties, there would be an end to progression, and patriotism would become obsolete, even in terms.

The government of this country has always been conducted on principles of falsehood and expediency; and the natural consequences of tortuous legislation are rapidly coming home to all classes. The agricultural interest has risen in the stilts of monopoly, and the trading community has had to pay the cost of this iniquitous departure from political justice. So long as the makers of the law remain comparatively irresponsible to the people, the two great departments of human enterprise, land and trade, will continue to exist in mutual hostility. But why

should the hostility continue? One simple word is the remedy—justice. The return of the government to equitable legislation would adjust the apparent opposition of agriculture and commerce. But justice cannot become the basis of legislation until the virtue of the aristocracy has risen to the wants of the state, or the people have applied their force to the House of Commons. Never were the exigencies of the nation greater than they now are; but the aristocracy have not risen with the occasion. They are the same creatures of expediency and shift. The great rule of justice would at once gauge the distress, and find the remedy; but there is nothing our rulers so much fear, or less intend to apply. They alter the Corn Laws, indeed, because they can no longer maintain them, nor bear the indignant gaze of a ruined people: but their reform will be a mere change of miserable expedients, if the people do not prevent it. Their maxims are all for the day. They have no eye to futurity. Trade and commerce, population and morals in 1890 they never anticipate. An end must come to the farce, and the aristocracy know it; but all their labours go to waive off the reckoning to the future. When the Corn Laws are repealed, they will fall upon the Bank and the moneyed interest, and afterwards upon the church, but those reforms, also, will be effected in the spirit of mere expediency. Great principles are as strange in their hands as the plough, or the rasp, or the hammer; and vain indeed is the hope of the people who expect equitable reforms from them. The class who are born to dictate are never taught great principles, and they know no more of patriotism than the abused application of the term to the interests of their own clique. It is remarkable in the discussions of both Houses of Parliament, how seldom questions are argued upon the mere grounds of right and wrong. The moral reasons of legislation are rarely noticed; and when they are touched upon, it is frequently amidst the ridicule of the house. The opera party sways where the voice of distress is excluded; the battle for place, or a party division, are the only things that awaken our aristocratic governors, and when that is over, the petitions of the people lie as unregarded on the table of parliament as the notes of the powdered clerks who sit before the speaker.

A stranger to the English government would naturally conclude, after having visited the countries of Prussia and the Czar, and become acquainted with our distress, that a parliament was a device for securing the misery of the people, for cheating the masses out of their power and money, for perpetuating the abuses of former ages, for involving the nation in debts greater than were ever heard of in the history of man, and for pampering one or two pet factions at the expense of the multitude. That this

is the condition of *our* nation cannot be denied, but how was it achieved? It has never been of late without a parliament: most of the towns have their charter: the books of law declare that every man has a voice in parliament, and that no one can be taxed without the consent of his representative; but how do these pretences harmonize with the actual state of things? Despotic governments, the stranger might remark, have no parliament, but they have no national debt of any consequence. Their towns are not chartered, but their inhabitants are in comparative affluence. They have a national church, but the clergy sympathize with the people. One will is universal law; but commerce is constantly increasing. They have nobles, indeed, but they are no more the masters of the nation than their serfs. Those countries have been occasionally the seat of war, but they suffer inconceivably less than Great Britain, the victor of the world. They have no free press, the boast of England, but the people are better educated. And if, from such a comparison of facts, the stranger visiting England should attribute the distress of the country to the existence of its parliaments, he would be justified by the memorable assertion of the nobleman who said, 'that England can never be undone but by her parliaments.' If these evils result from the parliament, where is its utility? If they are produced in spite of such an institution, where are the boasted benefits of its guardianship?

The praise of the people's patience by the aristocracy is but an insult, and should be thrown back upon the oppressor. For what is this praise given? That the working classes have not risen in the power and spirit of vengeance, and trampled their gay oppressors to the dust. Nothing more is intended than to pet the dog that is suspected of a disposition to worry. Nothing is said of the patience of the English people during the ages of misrule which they have endured from their lordly rulers. The successive series of jobs, wars, and plunderings of the national income; the natural growth of the pensionary hordes, and the mischievous race of placemen, the sectarianism of the national church, the iniquity and extravagance of the laws, the shameless state of the suffrage and education, the dabbling with the national currency, now changing it from gold to paper, and then from paper to gold, the prodigal allowances to royalty and its minions, the history of monopolies, expeditions, and commissions,—all these monstrous invasions of the popular right the people have borne almost without a complaint. For such patience they were never praised. But now that they have the aristocracy at their mercy, and yet nobly refrain from revenge, they are praised for the patience with which they endure hunger, pain, nakedness, isolation in a poor-house, or expulsion from

their homes! As long as the people can be kept down, they are denounced as the mob, the populace, and the *canaille*; but when the popular lion roars and erects his mane, and paws the earth with symptomatic ire, then he must be soothed by a cheap meal of flattery, in order that he may be coaxed and wheedled again into the chains of his keepers. Patience is no doubt a great virtue, but it may also be a great crime; and it is one when the majority of a nation suffer their rulers to dominate at the cost of all that we ought to convey to our posterity. What we choose to suffer is one thing; but the suffering that we impose on our successors is another; and it will by them be accounted our dishonour to have quietly submitted to the ruin of that commerce which we received from our forefathers, as much for the benefit of our successors as of ourselves.

Unbounded obligations are due from the country to the Anti Corn-Law League, who have at last, after the expenditure of many thousand pounds, and much time, roused the country to a due consideration of the most practical of the fiscal grievances of the people. At one period of the agitation, success appeared very dubious; and many of the friends of the popular cause struck off to the suffrage as a safer road to the repeal of the Corn Law. Our sentiments on the iniquitous state of the suffrage are well known; they have been freely expressed, and will be reiterated from time to time. We cannot, however, too strongly express our regret at the policy adopted by some friends of the suffrage movement, in reference to the Anti Corn-Law agitation. We deeply deplore the hostile position they have taken up, for hostile it is, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, as we feel assured it must be equally unfriendly to the success of their own views as to those of the Corn Law League. *The repeal of the Corn Law would be an immediate benefit, and on that account claims the precedence*; but though the enlargement of the suffrage would secure the repeal of the food taxes, the success would be more remote, and the terrific elements of hunger and despair may throw the battle into unexpected forms of disorder, in which the master grievance might be forgotten. We cannot, therefore, avoid deprecating the inopportune censure of the League by '*The Nonconformist*,' and other friends of the people, who would have it abandon its original position, and become a political club. The power of that spirited association is in *its strictly commercial and humane character*: as such, it will, aided by the popular distress, either overthrow the government, or force the repeal of the food taxes. If it become a mere political society, a part of its members would retire; it would lose the sympathy of the religious to a great extent: the middle classes, who have yet to be converted to the suffrage movement, would

become feeble co-operators, if not actual opponents; and though the league might fight the battle on a broader principle, the prospect of success would be diminished. It is difficult to make men as zealous for principles and abstract justice as they have become for questions of trade. Nor do we agree with our contemporary, that the falling off in the members of the Conference is owing to the abated confidence of the people in the question of repeal. We attribute it mainly to the increase of distress. Many of the associations in the country did not find it convenient to support their deputies in London, and few only were able to support themselves. We think it somewhat derogatory to the friends of free trade in London, that no arrangements were made, as in Manchester, to open their houses to such of the deputies as had not the means of defraying their own expenses. In the event of another Conference, we are confident this oversight will not be repeated. But we protest against the conclusion, that the labours of the conference have been without effect. Small as it is alleged the numbers were, we are convinced, it has had greater effect on the government than any previous popular movement in favour of free trade. Sir Robert Peel has been shamed from his worn-out sophisms of overproduction, and it is already rumoured at the clubs, that his croupiers have received warning that the monopoly must be ceded early in the next session. The power of forcing that session to begin soon is in the people; and if they do not exert their strength, they will have themselves only to blame.

The wisdom of the agitation for the repeal of the provision taxes appears to us in the *immediate good* that would ensue. The corn of America would become not only an article of cheap food, but would operate as so much new capital thrown into the market, which would be speedily felt by all. The debts of America to this country would soon be paid; agriculture there would be instantly stimulated, and the capital of the North would be drawn from trade; a better feeling would be produced between the governments and people of both countries; and either a stop would be put to the drain of emigrants, or the character of the emigration would be changed from a dangerous supply to our rivals abroad, into a relief to the surplus population of our agricultural districts. Mr. Ibbotson, of Sheffield, and other deputies, recently declared at the Conference, that the repeal of the Corn Law would be followed in a few weeks by the employment of nearly all our able-bodied artisans. This result, and the equitable principle that would secure it, may well make Corn Law repealers plentiful.

One element we have observed in the general distress with peculiar pain. The patience of the suffering operatives has been

applauded, but it appears not to be thoroughly understood. It is not merely patience, but a mistaken policy. The apathy of the middle classes has been bitterly complained of by the lower, who now look with mistaken gratification at the ruin that is at work among the merchants, shop-keepers, and manufacturers. In more than one place we have heard the paupers declare, with evident delight, 'we will eat them up, and then they (the middle classes) will move.' We are sorry to see this spirit, for, with all their faults, the middle classes are the only friends of the lower. It is with their capital that the trade of the country is sustained; for every thousand of that capital which is lost, there is lost the power to employ a given number of operatives. The vengeance of the lower classes is, therefore, suicidal; they are cutting off their own supplies; the spirit of enterprise and invention will not find sanctuary among the aristocracy, and the redundant poor will be thrown upon the land, either to scramble with the serfs for half their pittance, or with their masters for the land itself; and in either alternative bitter indeed will be the contest.

The quiescent part that has been played by the established clergy during this frightful popular suffering, is striking, and ought to be admonitory. They are essentially the priesthood of the aristocracy, whose sentiments they generally espouse, because they hope for their patronage. There are, doubtless, many kind and some noble men among the clergy, but how do they reconcile their indifference to the cause of the poor with their boast of 'the poor man's church'? If, by that expression, it be intended that the property of the church ought to belong to the poor, it is true. But why, then, is the poor man's church so ill-suited for his reception? Is the master of the house to be restricted to the meanest part of his own habitation? Why does the poor man forsake his church for the chapel, or, instead of resorting to it, neglect public worship altogether? It is because he is convinced that the state clergy have no sympathy with him. They have never appeared in his cause when their own was not to be first served; and now that the poor are visited by the heaviest and the most continued time of trial that the working classes have ever known in this country, the clergy have stood aloof; abandoned them to contend with a wicked and heartless government alone, and have not even moved in a simultaneous act of charity for the relief of the beggared population, till they had received the mandate of the aristocracy and the queen 'to remember the poor.' In the Conference held at Manchester, there were only two or three of the established clergy; in that held in London, early in the present year, the number was not increased, and we have not heard of more than a single clergyman of the state church having attended the Conference which is now sitting. These

are the men who boast of being the descendants of the apostles, and the authorized ministers of 'the poor man's church.' It may be objected that they do not think the repeal of the Corn Law would remove the difficulty of the poor. If it would not, why have they not convened, resolved upon a better remedy, and urged the government to protect morals and education by defending the labour and skill of the poor? There are many rules of Scripture by which the clergy stand gravely condemned for their indifference to the cause of the poor. 'Ye shall know them by their fruits;' 'Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' When the Whigs proposed to extend the education of the poor, the clergy were unanimous and active to crush the project; and at the last election they were not quiescent, but their service was confined to the support of their aristocratic patrons.

Nor are the dissenting ministers free from blame. They did assemble nobly at Manchester, in Wales, and in Scotland, and collected an important body of evidence; but those conferences did nothing effectually beyond the excitement of public attention. Why were not the subsequent conferences attended in equal numbers? Or if that were impracticable, why have the dissenting ministers not continued to agitate the subject by local conferences, aye, and even by arraying against the shameless food taxes the power of the pulpit in the evenings of the week, if not on the Sabbath day? We are quite convinced that no question more concerns the morals of the people than that of the Corn Laws; and no class of men will so soon feel the results of an impoverished and a demoralized population as dissenting ministers. There prevails among the working classes a growing impression against the clergy of all denominations. Jesus had compassion on the multitudes, and used extraordinary means to procure them food; and the subject of a permanent supply of food is so much more important than that which justified the miracle he wrought, as the life of man is superior to an hour. Temporal interests in the best disciplined minds have always affected the spiritual, and poor is the prospect of the pastor who has to minister to a starving audience. The poor are the representatives of Christ, and we cannot avoid thinking that the neglect even of their legal and commercial rights will never be rehearsed among the virtues of the ministers of Christ at the last day. Of the Wesleyan preachers we have nothing to say beyond deploring their paltry adhesion to the politics and prejudices of the state clergy. The people perfectly understand the position of both; and the time will come when the disciples of John Wesley will feel severely the retribution of

the popular spirit. We have, indeed, heard it asserted that the advocacy of the cause of the poor is a degradation of the ministerial function! Would that we could cite no instances of less disputable degradation! In our judgment, patriotism, not to say humanity, is a virtue 'passionless and pure,' compared with much of the ecclesiastical war that disturbs the land. Modes of clerical dress, feuds of ordination, and questions even of the church-rate and Easter dues, are 'lighter than vanity' where the pleas of an agonized population ring to heaven: while the foundations of the next age are sapped by the poverty, ignorance, and want of employment that at present afflict nearly all the working classes.

The prorogation of parliament, under any circumstances in which it is likely to occur, will augment the odium of the government immeasurably. Why should the members of parliament, any more than other men, leave their business half done? To quit the enchanted foreground of a revolution produced by a new agent, political economy, would be madness in wise and honest men; but for the feeble chapmen of the dominant party to do it, is the addition of insult to hunger, and will be counted by the people a wanton outrage on the decencies due in all lands to distress. If the motive for the prorogation were the presence of the plague in the city, the claims of commerce, or the jeopardy of right honourable health, there would be at least the semblance of an excuse. But it is notorious that the members of parliament, with few exceptions, are engaged in no mercantile affairs that require their presence elsewhere; that the sole reason for separation now is to adjourn, according to custom, to their country seats and watering places; and it would be found difficult to express the disgust with which this inopportune abandonment of their legislative duties will inspire the people towards their rulers. It would have been no miraculous patriotism if the government had determined to continue the session indefinitely till the obstacles were removed from trade, and some solid grounds had been laid for the public tranquillity. Such a resolve would have convinced the people that if government *did not* possess the power, it had yet shewn a disposition to promote the national welfare. Nearly all that has been done during the session, is mischievous; the food taxes have been huddled into new shapes of disorder, and the premier calls the confusion, reform! The capital of the manufacturer has melted with the rapidity of summer snow, and to stop the waste, Sir R. Peel has proposed the Income Tax! The people demand organic changes and the removal of aristocratic fingers from the keyboard of trade; and the premier meets the demand by feeble praises of their patience. The position of the premier is all that

his enemies can desire. He is irrecoverably deep in the snares of his own fabrication. The bands of the net tighten every hour; and before February 1843, we are deceived if the great grievance of his soul will not be the bootless lament that he prorogued the present session. He will never convene his partisans in the same force again; portions of them will have caught the fear of the manufacturers, while others will have been equally alarmed with their agricultural tenants. The boasted unanimity of the government party will be gone, while the growing distress of the country will stand in mountainous strength behind the opposition.

Much good, however, may result from the prorogation. In London, the aristocracy can easily forget the visions of misery; the ceaseless splendour of the parks and the court, and the routs of fashionable amusement, veil the distress of the people. But when the members of parliament have arrived at their country abodes, they can neither stop their ears nor close their eyes. The swelling rates for the poor, the defalcated rent rolls, the applicants for private relief, the crowds of workmen no longer hale and hilarious, which must be seen, will be strange readings of the income tax and the vaunted tariff.

The people must evidently help themselves; for they may as well look to the stone divinities of the Hindoos that stand in the nooks of the Museum, as to the members of her Majesty's government for relief. Thousands of families have been utterly ruined through the maintenance of odious laws; men of genius and religion have been driven heart-broken from our shores; hundreds are now in their graves whose murder is fairly chargeable on the iniquity of the food laws. Capital is falling off in a spring-tide from the manufacturers into the hands of lawyers and the aristocracy, and morals have been irreparably damaged. Families have been disgraced by the prostitution of their daughters, and the crime of their sons, who have been forced to such extremities from the necessitating influences of bad legislation. Education is rapidly on the wane among the children of the poor; the doctrines of republicanism are creeping up the limbs of society, and at no long interval will become the creed of the national soul, if the aristocratic genius is still to revel in wanton and irresponsible power. The people must help themselves, for it is clear they have nothing to hope for from the government, beyond the cheap praise of the patience with which they endure their sufferings; and even that would be withheld if it cost a farthing to give it utterance, endangered the patronage of a stable-boy's place, or required the labour of a sentence, or the sacrifice of an interview. The nation has no voice in parliament, if the majority be the nation, as in all theories

of government it is allowed to be. Let the unrepresented millions demand the increase of the suffrage at once, if they please. It is their right. Petitions alone, however, will never obtain it. Remonstrance is the natural language of a wronged mortal; and though it is true that parliament has denounced the language of remonstrance, and requires its masters, the people, to 'sue and fawn on supple knee,' let the people remonstrate and demand an increase of the suffrage. No government has a right to exclude the people of this country from its exercise for a single day. It is a birthright, and cannot be long withheld if the people demand it; it is a trust, and cannot be alienated; it is a safeguard, and the only one, that the ruin, great as it now is, does not become tenfold its present magnitude. Physical force is weakness, but an enlarged suffrage would be national omnipotence.

When the people acquire their rights they should remember the lessons of their own apathy. Providence has frequently cast great occasions in their way, which have been disregarded. The ascendancy of the aristocrat would not have been perpetuated to the middle of the nineteenth century if the people had been true to themselves. The Republic, the Restoration, the Revolution, the Independence of America, the beginning of the present century, and the Reform Bill, were all lost occasions for recovering to the people the powers of self-government, the loss of which was mainly owing to the wicked apathy and foolish credulity of the masses of this country. Whether the 'experience that makes fools wise' has at length roused the people of Great Britain to a better spirit, is yet to be seen. If the schooling of adversity have not been sufficient to instruct and resolve the people to keep all that Providence bestows, even the suffrage would be in vain. The ballot would be no protection. Triennial parliaments would be a poor guarantee, and even a salaried House of Commons, except the soul of the people should rise immeasurably above what it has been, would be quite compatible with a heartless government and a factious House of representatives. Aristocracy has no impulses; but it is cautious, and never sleeps when power is to be won. The people have terrible inspirations, but in the interim, the plague of bribery rages stealthily through the mass, and when the fight begins it is discovered that cunning has outwitted power, and right is prostrate again before its foe. The present sufferings of the nation are mainly attributable to its own lethargy. If the Whigs had been driven on to ulterior measures, instead of being abandoned to their self-complacency, from 1834 to 1837, the Corn Law would have been now repealed; the battle would have sunk to a skirmish between the farmer and the landlord, or between the clergy and the lords of stock, while the body of the English nation

would have been in commercial prosperity, our poor-houses comparatively empty, and education and morals on the rise.

The infatuation of the aristocracy is the miracle of our age ; and such is its grotesque character, that if it were not the wanton cause of portentous changes to the country, it would only excite the jeers of wise men. If their demented policy recoiled only upon themselves, the people of England might safely look on the farce of splendid folly manœuvring its own downfall. But, unfortunately, the gay capital is a part of the pillar of society, and the calamities that strike the lords must therefore be shared by their victims, the people. But their doom is nevertheless sealed ; they are sinking every hour in popular esteem, and the grudging and thankless manner in which they take the lesson on popular distress, will only strengthen the general conviction that they are merely the splendid caterpillars of society, who fall with devouring precision upon the first and the finest plants of the field. Like all other procrastinators, they postpone to the last hour the business of a whole life. The pauper has given them warning to quit the sole proprietary of the land ; the tradesman has joined with the merchant to raise the steam of opinion against the feathers and ermines of the *noblesse* ; the children are taught to consider them as the mere *nati consumere fruges* ; poverty curses them from its den ; philosophy sneers at their incapacity ; wit profanes in the tavern the associations that have heretofore belonged to a lord ; the Jews are staking deep into their possessions ; the millions that live by trade snuff their names with ineffable disdain ; and yet the aristocracy are neither willing that justice in legislation should prevail, nor that the few should be inconvenienced for the salvation of the many. A more pitiable proof of the imbecility of the class could not be furnished than their subordination to Sir Robert Peel. He is too wise to sympathize with the dull dogmas of their olden conceit ; but he lacks the courage to shew the more excellent way ; and they have no alternative but to submit. They are the sworn caballers against free trade, yet led by a cotton-spinner's son ! The risk is fearful that they will lose all if they do not speedily capitulate ; but they are brave only where angels would 'gaze and pause.' The government has a winter's prospect before it that might inspire the dead, and it is yet bent on a prorogation of parliament and the maintenance of monopolies that any hour may overthrow the state ! The responsibility of Sir R. Peel is great indeed. The distress will increase ; capital is on the rapid fall ; men die questioning whether it is better to have a republic or a despotism ; the wisest are setting their house in order ; the spirited are leaving the land ; crimes are losing their odium and

virtue its attractions to the needy parts of the community. The fires pent up in the heart of the nation rumble with fearful warnings, the land is unwontedly still; but in one hour the game may be up, the dykes of order may be broken down for ever, and the first and least pitied of all the victims will be the aristocracy themselves. The manly repeal of the Corn Laws might save all, and convert a nation of mourners into a land of triumph and hope. The aristocracy *cannot* win the game of monopoly again; and if for another year they refuse to capitulate, they may henceforth hear of no terms but expatriation, or unconditional surrender to the people. It is now at their option to pay the pepper corn or quit the estate. One or the other must be done. They have been warned of the consequences of a collision with the people, and will have no excuse 'when their calamity cometh.'

Brief Notices.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 440. London: Longman and Co.

We lose no time in introducing to our readers a work which promises to be one of the most useful which has been issued from the British press for some years past. A biographical dictionary on an extensive plan, the several departments of which should be committed to competent and faithful hands, while the whole was kept under the supervision of one well qualified mind, has long been felt to be a *desideratum* in our literature, and we rejoice to perceive at length some prospect of its being supplied. The work, of which the first half-volume is now before us, appears under the auspices of the *Useful Knowledge Society*, and has been committed to the editorship of Professor Long, of University College. It is designed to include brief biographical sketches of all persons who 'have done anything for which they ought to be remembered,' and as such, distinctly disclaims the intention of giving in any instance a perfect biography. 'The completeness,' it is remarked, 'which a biographical dictionary should aim at, consists in comprising the names of all persons who deserve a notice, and not in containing only elaborate lives of distinguished persons, and omitting those of little importance.' Such a book is kept as a book of reference, not one of continuous reading. We recur to it to meet the exigency of the moment, and to ascertain where, if needful, further information may be obtained. Such is the avowed scope of the work before us, in harmony with which an alphabetical principle of arrangement has been wisely adopted. Each article is to have the initials of its writer appended to it, whose full names will be given on the com-

pletion of the work. The authorities, also, on which the narrative is constructed, are to be appended, together, in the case of authors, where not too voluminous, with a list of their writings. 'The lives,' remarks the editor, 'will be written with care, and the original sources will be examined wherever it can be done.'

The work is to appear in quarterly half-volumes, price twelve shillings each, or in monthly parts at one-third of that sum. So far as we can judge from the volume before us, we are disposed to entertain a highly favourable opinion of its probable execution. The editor has evidently combined upon it a vast amount of erudition and general knowledge. Minds of varied acquirements, and of very different habits, have contributed, each in its own department, to the elucidation of its favourite theme; and the general result therefore brought out, is a collection of biographies enriched beyond example by the fruits of laborious and well-directed research. We shall watch the progress of the work with interest, and report our judgment from time to time.

The Nonconformist's Sketch Book; a Series of Views, classified in four groups, of a State Church and its attendant evils. 12mo, pp. 300. London: Nonconformist Office.

The papers contained in this volume were originally published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and are now classified in four groups, for the purpose of exhibiting a more connected and effective view of the evils attendant on a state church. The titles under which they are arranged, will furnish a bird's eye view of their general tenour and bearing. These titles are the following:—1. A State Church viewed from the ground of consistent Dissent. 2. Political views of a State Church. 3. A State Church viewed in the light of Common Sense. 4. The State Church seen in contrast with Christianity. In their present form, these papers constitute a volume eminently adapted to the requirements of the present day. They are written in a style well suited to the popular mind, and leave upon an attentive reader an impression much stronger, and one of a more practical order, than is attendant on the lucubrations of less earnest minds. 'The writer has endeavoured to imagine himself addressing a mixed audience, with whom to gain his end it was necessary to be serious without prosing, and to be lively without exposing himself to the charge of levity. The arguments are therefore brief, and must be looked upon rather as suggestions to the thoughtful, than as complete trains of reasoning.' To those who deem strong language and pungent rebuke a sufficient reason for throwing a book aside, the present volume will be unacceptable. We, however, profess no such tenderness and false candour; and therefore, without pledging ourselves to an approval of every word and sentiment which it contains, whilst retaining our own views of the repulsive influence exercised by the unmeasured, and, as we think, indiscriminate censure occasionally dealt out, we yet strongly recommend the volume to the immediate and grave consideration of our readers. 'He who would hurt the feelings of another,' remarks the writer, in his brief preface, and we fully concur in the justice of the

observation, 'further than the cause of truth requires, is unquestionably bitter; but he who pretends to expose a sinful system, without hurting the feelings of its abettors, is doing but little for the advantage of Christianity.'

The great evil of our times is the little hold which principle has upon the minds of men. We admit the existence of an evil, but make no adequate effort for its correction. We deplore it in words, while we sanction it in deeds. Thus it is with the state church, which lives upon our supineness, and must continue to do so, till the conviction of its unscriptural character and awfully pernicious influence is worked deeply into the hearts of our people, so as to beget corresponding exertions for its overthrow. In aid of such a result, the volume before us is a well-timed contribution. Its author is clearly in earnest; he speaks as with authority from the depth of his own convictions, and if his censure is occasionally too sweeping, we find a ready excuse in his strong and emphatic persuasion of the enormity of the evil which he so ably combats.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Southern Division; Part V. Cornwall. Northern Division; Part VII. Lancashire. London: How and Parsons.

We are glad to report that the promise held out by the early numbers of this work has been faithfully kept. Each succeeding number has increased our confidence in the competency of its editor for the laborious task he has undertaken, and in the fidelity of the publishers to the terms of their original prospectus. *Cornwall* has been completed in five numbers, which combine, 'in a moderate compass, both amusement and information adapted to all classes of readers, and elegantly illustrated.' This portion of the work may be had with a distinct title-page, and can scarcely fail to obtain extensive circulation, and to be highly prized wherever it is read. It contains a large mass of useful information, mingled with the local traditions of a county which yields to no part of England in historical interest. *Lancashire*, with its cotton-mills and teeming population, has extended to seven parts, and is not yet completed. The various processes of the cotton manufactures of this county are graphically described by Dr. W. C. Taylor, whose pen has been liberally aided by the engraver. Altogether the work is got up in first-rate style; its typography is admirable, its illustrations are numerous, accurate, and striking; and its literary department is characterized by good sense, abundant information, and a happy mixture of the grave and the gay. *Devonshire*, 'the most picturesque of English counties,' will be commenced in September.

Babbicombe; or, Visions of Memory: with other Poems. By Matthew Bridges, Esq., author of the "History of the Roman Empire under Constantine the Great." London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

This is a very delightful volume. Mr. Bridges is a genuine poet. He describes natural scenery with the feeling of one who is charmed

with the beautiful and awed by the sublime; his narrations are the poetry of life; and the creations of his fancy, when he passes the boundaries of this real world and enters the shadowy regions of the imagination, are preternatural and terrible. We have an instance of this in the 'Dreadful Dream,' in the 'Visions of Memory,' in 'The Magician,' and in the whole scene with the Witch of Endor, in 'Saul the son of Cis.'

The book stands high, and on its intrinsic merits; but from the Preface we learn that it has a still more attractive claim to public patronage—the claim of benevolence.

'Whatever,' says Mr. Bridges, with the modesty of true genius, 'may be thought of the literary merits of the subsequent sheets, there will probably exist little difference of opinion as to their typographical beauty. Seldom in the provinces, and especially at so great a distance from London, can the neatness and accuracy be surpassed, which are here displayed by the respectable printer for whose entire benefit this edition of 'Babbicombe' appears. Left, by a severe domestic bereavement, to struggle on in the world, with his desolate family, an appeal is thus made, with respectful confidence, to the sympathy of a generous public, which is rarely found to fail in effectually alleviating sorrow, or supporting artistical skilfulness. Probably neither writers nor readers can be better employed, as to the ordinary affairs of this life, at the present crisis, than in endeavouring to lessen the pressure of commercial difficulty among our middle classes, constituting, as they do, the nucleus of national wealth, as well as the best sources of its future preservation and prosperity.'

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Reformed Church at Paris. Translated from the French, and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M.A., of Christ College, Cambridge, now revised and amended, with a Preface by the Rev. J. Jekyll, LL.B. London. 1821. pp. xxiv. 360.

We give our hearty recommendation to this seasonable reprint of a treatise which will ever be a standard work on the subject discussed in it. The service it has rendered to the protestant cause is recorded by the pen of history, and that it is not yet a pointless weapon, the efforts which are made to depreciate it, both by those who would openly destroy, and those who would betray protestantism, sufficiently evince. Romanist writers find themselves compelled, even in these days, to lay out their best resources in attempts to destroy its credit, and an Anglican Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge considers it his duty to warn us 'not to let our estimate of the worth or worthlessness of the fathers be formed at second hand, from a mere perusal of such authors as Daillé or Barbeyraex, whose only object is to single out whatever imperfections they present, and place them before their readers in continuous succession, and without one lucid interval of

merit.' Such remarks as these of Mr. Blunt, however, though not exactly untrue, are calculated to produce a false impression, and to lead to very pernicious results. The impression they are adapted to produce is, that Daillé's work is unfair, which it would be if it professed to be a comprehensive uncontroversial essay on patristics. But this it does not: it is avowedly an examination of one particular question, and that a most important one in patrology; of what use are the fathers in the decision of existing controversies in religion? This inquiry Daillé conducted, if with some partiality, which we neither deny nor extenuate, yet, on the whole, with great ability, considering the adversaries he had to contend with; for he seized, with singular sagacity, the essential points of the question, as regarded in his day, and whatever is pretended to the contrary, discussed them with as distinguished success. He noticed how few genuine works were extant belonging to the most important period—i. e., that immediately succeeding the apostles; to what different points the earliest controversies related, from those which were mooted in his time; how uncertain was the genuineness, and how corrupt the text, of many of the alleged writings of the fathers; what difficulties were occasioned by the peculiarities of style, the rhetorical flourishes, the logical refinements with which some were chargeable; by the concealment or disguise of opinion detected in others; by the changes of sentiment or uncertainty of the degree of conviction which others manifested; and lastly (in his first book), by the moral impossibility of distinguishing individual sentiment from the universal belief of the church. In his second book, he proves that the testimonies given by the fathers on the doctrines of the church are not always true; that the fathers testify against themselves that they are not to be believed absolutely, and on their bare assertion, in what they declare in matters of religion; that their writings make it clear that they had no thought of ever being made authorities in such matters; that they have erred, not singly, but many of them together; that they have maintained strenuous and important controversies one with another; and that even those who acknowledge an authority in them, do it not consistently or thoroughly, but reject such of their opinions as are not suited to their taste. The sum of the whole, in his view, is, that the fathers are not of sufficient authority for deciding controversies in religion; and we must explicitly declare, that if the credit of his book is to be destroyed because his subject required him to expose the errors and imperfections of the fathers, we are at a loss to know what controversial work, on any subject, Mr. Blunt, or any other Anglican writer who thinks with him, can ever honour with his commendation. Daillé's work might, and we have no doubt would, have been different in some of its details, if, instead of having to disprove the ascription of undue authority to the fathers, he had had to speak of their writings, simply as the productions of distinguished men of an early period of the church—some few conspicuous for piety, others for learning, others for eloquence in speech or writing, but most distinguished for neither, and the best of them erring and faulty as ourselves. However, such as they were, they

were exalted into the chair of authoritative teachers by that corrupt fraternity (we will not call it church) which would have the Scriptures all but a sealed book to the people, and arguing with his adversaries much more on their own opinions than we should choose to do, he demolished this authority decisively. To our own taste, Milton's method, where he has occasion to speak of the so-called fathers approves itself more than that of Daillé, for it does, and we think ought, to rouse the indignation of a Christian man to find any of them admitted to the rank of authoritative interpreters of Scripture or faithful preservers of a tradition necessary to give Scripture its due meaning, and the church its proper character; but the treatise, the reprint of which is now before us, goes into the matter upon principles to which neither Romanist nor Anglican can reasonably object; and as it is well to be armed at all points, and have wherewith to refute, in detail, the adversaries of the exclusive authority of the inspired Scriptures, we could wish that every intelligent protestant were master of its contents.

The Diseases of Children, their Symptoms, and Treatment. A Treatise intended for the use of the Student and Junior Practitioner.
By George Augustus Rees, M.R.C.S. Highley. 12mo. pp. 300.

This is both a very affecting and highly valuable publication. It is terrible to contemplate the infant maladies of our species as they are here detailed, classified, and described; but it is most gratifying to witness the results of experience in the discovery of symptoms, and the method of treatment. The author tells his readers that he had two objects in view;—‘The first, to offer to the medical student a concise description of the diseases of children, and so supply a want he had himself experienced; the second, to raise the study of the diseases of children higher in the scale of medical science, that they might no longer be treated on vague and indefinite principles, but that the more careful discrimination of symptoms in different cases might be attempted, which has been so successful in elucidating disease in the adult.’ From this it will appear that the writer's object is one of a most praiseworthy character; but the real value and permanent utility of such a work must depend on the execution. This circumstance has led us thoroughly to examine the volume, and we deem it but justice to say, that the result has been wholly satisfactory. After all that has been written by Maunsell, Moss, Watts, and others, Mr. Rees may still be consulted with great advantage. His book intimates that the diseases of children have occupied a considerable portion of his professional life, and it is obvious that his public official situation must have supplied him with advantages which comparatively few surgeons ever enjoy. The man who has had under his own eye upwards of *nineteen thousand* cases of children, when he chooses to speak, is entitled to a respectful hearing. In addition, however, to this large experience, the volume shows that Mr. Rees has thoroughly canvassed the labours of his brethren. The student will delight to hear him

compare their doctrine with his experience, generally supporting, often modifying, and occasionally disputing it. The work seems to us to present a beautiful specimen of medical statement, calm, clear, concise, and yet comprehensive. To all whom it more immediately concerns, we cordially commend it; and notwithstanding the hard words and technical terms which pervade it, in common with all professional medical literature, and render it difficult to be understood by the multitude, we beg to say that it well deserves the notice, and will amply repay the perusal, of educated heads of families.

The Critical Greek and English Testament. London: Bagster & Son.

This is a perfect gem, and will be highly prized as a pocket-companion by every critical reader of the New Testament. It contains Scholz's Greek text, carefully purged from the typographical errors of the Leipsic edition of 1830-6, together with the variations between that text and that of Griesbach's Manual (Leipsic 1805), as well as those of Stephen's third edition, Beza's fifth, and the second of the Elzevir editions. The English authorized version, according to the edition of 1611, is printed in a parallel volume, and the paragraphs are arranged to correspond precisely with those of the Greek. The type, both of the Greek and of the English, is clear, and the whole getting up of the volume is in perfect keeping with the high character of Mr. Bagster's publications.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

A Course of Lectures, Expository and Practical, on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. By the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, M.A., Pastor of the English Reformed Church, Rotterdam.

Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, in a Series of Letters to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. By W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, Author of the Natural History of Society, &c.

Just Published.

Annotations on the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon. By Henry Ainsworth. Parts I., II., III., IV., V.

The Christian's Daily Companion. Part V.

The Exclusive Claims of Puseyite Episcopalians to the Christian Ministry Indefensible, &c. By John Brown, D.D., of Langton, Berwickshire.

The Imperial Family Bible, with many thousand critical, explanatory, and practical notes; also Reference Readings, Chronological Tables, and Indexes; illustrated by a superb series of Engravings from the Old Masters, and from original designs by John Martin. Parts XI.—XVI.

Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa. By Robert Moffat.

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Provincial Letters from the County Palatine of Durham, exhibiting the Nature and Tendency of the principles put forth by the Writers of the Tracts for the Times. By G. J. Faber, B.D.

The Theory and Desirableness of Revivals, being Six Sermons. By Rev. A. Barnes, with a Preface by Hon. and Rev. B. Noel.

A Catechism of New-Testament Principles, respecting the Constitution and Government of the Churches of Christ. By the late Charles N. Davies.

Congregationalism in Norwich two hundred years ago. By Alfred Reed, B.A.

Edwin the Fair; an Historical Drama. By Henry Taylor.

On the Causes which Retard the Conversion of the World; translated from the French by a Clergyman of the Church of England.

Religious Discretion; or, the Christian exhibited in his Secular Character. A Sermon, by Thomas Lewis.

Select Letters of Mrs. Agnes Bulmer, Author of Messiah's Kingdom, &c., with an Introduction and Notes by Rev. William M. Bunting.

A Voice in Ramah; or, Lament of the poor African, a fettered Exile afar from his Native Land. A Poem, in Five Cantos. By Andrew Steinmetz.

The Botanical Looker-out among the Wild Flowers of the fields, woods, and mountains of England and Wales, forming a Monthly Guide for the collecting Botanist, interspersed with pictorial glances, botanizing incidents, &c. &c. By Edwin Lees, F.L.S.

A Record of the Pyramids; a Drama, in Ten Scenes. By John Edmund Reade.

The United Irishmen; their Lives and Times. By R. R. Madden, M.D. 2 vols.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspeare. Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. IV.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. I.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division. Part VII., Lancashire.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. William Shakspeare, a Biography. No. I.

The Nonconformist's Sketch Book; a series of views, classified in four groups, of a State Church and its attendant evils.

The Christian Mother; or, Maternal Duties exemplified in the narratives of the Old and New Testament. By Mary Milner.

The Seasons: by James Thomson, with about Eighty engraved Illustrations from designs on wood by eminent artists, and Life of the Author, by Patrick Murdoch, D.D. Edited by Bolton Corney, Esq.

The Music of the Church, in Four Parts, containing a General History of Music, including an account of Hebrew Music, an investigation into the fitness of instruments, harmony, fuguing, anthems, chants, choirs, &c., in Divine Worship, and notes, critical and biographical, of the most popular Hymnic authors. By Thomas Hirst.

Sermons adapted to the celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By Rev. Charles Bradley, Vicar of Glasbury.

Love to Man Essential to the True Knowledge of God; a Sermon preached at Surrey Chapel, London, May 11th, 1842, for the London Missionary Society. By Joseph Sortain, A.B.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay. Edited by her Niece. Vol. IV. 1788-9.

Original Hymns for Congregational and Special Worship, chiefly contributed expressly for this work, by various poets. Edited by the Rev. J. Leifchild, D.D.